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AN OUTLINE OF THE STRUCTURE OF EASTERN BUSHMAN

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INTRODUCTION

This paper represents an analysis of the speech of two colonies of Eastern Bushmen in the Lake Chrissie district of the Eastern Transvaal, in particular, that resident on the farm Florence. Our informants are among the 20-30 surviving speakers of this Bushman dialect which, with the passing of this generation, will be extinct.

Although the structure of Eastern Bushman remains remarkably intact and the salient features distinguishing it from the surrounding Bantu languages are immediately obvious, it is heavily impregnated with borrowings — mostly from the Bantu languages.¹ Every effort has been made, however, to isolate these borrowings in this paper.

It is emphasized that this is an outline study and provides an analysis of only the commonest linguistic forms which we have recorded from the speech of our informants. There still exist several unsolved problems of morphology and much remains to be done in the fields of tonology and syntax.

In seeking the characteristic features of Eastern Bushman, we can reject at the start the two which are most commonly attributed to Bushman, viz. its "monosyllabic basis" (i.e. monosyllabic roots) and a structure of "isolating" type. Verbal roots, for example, are predominant-

ly CVCV, and there are a number of true affixes, which appear regularly in most nouns and verbs. Attention can, however, be drawn to the complexity of its phonemic structure, with its extensive development of click consonants, which contrasts with the simplicity of its morphology and syntax. In addition, Eastern Bushman is a register tone language with, apparently, three level tonemes in contrast.

Other features which Bushman languages in general appear to share, emanate from the fact that as a means of communication, these languages demand far less from their linguistic forms and rely far more on context and speech situation than do other languages. This is evinced by an unparalleled degree of free fluctuation and variation associated with phonemes (see § 51) and a degree of freedom in morphological structure far greater than that permitted in other languages. In the same strain do we find some of the commonest grammatical concepts to be lacking or extremely ill-defined (see, for example, time concepts with the verb), and radical elements frequently bear extremely wide areas of meaning, e.g. *sa* which may mean "arrive, bring, give", and *faa* which may mean "water, beautiful, white".

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¹ For a discussion of the linguistic contacts of Eastern Bushman, see L. W. Lanham and D. P. Hallowes, "Linguistic Relationships and Contacts Expressed in the Vocabulary of Eastern Bushman", *African Studies*,

15, 1, March 1956. Included in this article is a discussion on the many similarities in vocabulary between Eastern Bushman and the *ǀkhomani* dialect of the southern Kalahari. Many likenesses in morphology substantiate further the very close relationship between these dialects and it is possible to group Eastern Bushman and *ǀkhomani* in a single dialect cluster to which *ǀauni* and other southern dialects also probably belong.

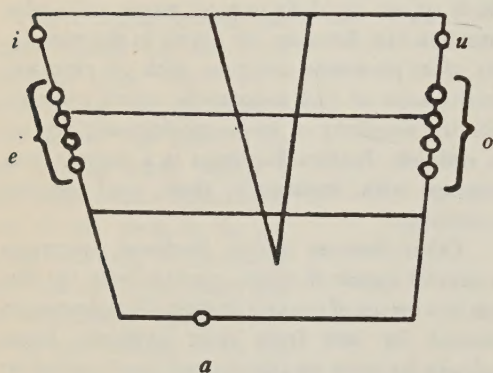
A. PHONOLOGY

I. THE VOWEL PHONEMES

1. The vowel phonemes are : *i*, *i̇*, *e*, *ẽ*, *a*, *ã*, *o*, *õ* *u*, *ũ*.

In addition, the nasal consonants *m*, *n*, *ɲ*, *ŋ* may be syllabic, in which case they behave in very much the same way as the true vowel phonemes, i.e. in their distribution, and as bearers of phonemic tone.

2. The vowel phonemes may be represented on the vowel chart as follows :



3. *i* is a vowel of fairly stable quality occurring in the position indicated on the chart.
kl'ini (be small)
*ij-!i-we*¹ (I dig)

Example of *i̇* :
swĩĩ (fat)

4. *e* is of somewhat unstable quality and fluctuates to the extent shown on the chart. It is usually heard as a vowel in the region of

Cardinal Vowel No. 2.

*||ele*²*e* (small child, baby)

*ha-a-debe*² (It is a knife)

/kxee (speak)

Example of *ẽ* :

ʔunẽẽ (food)

5. *a* is clearly a front vowel, although not as far forward as Cardinal Vowel No. 4.

!a (bone)

*haa-ŋ-||kha*²*a* (It is my cheek)

ʔaa (father)

Examples of *ã* :

haa-klhwãã (It is an affair - "indaŋa")

hãã (appear)

6. *o*, like *e*, is unstable, but generally occurs in the region of the 7th Cardinal Vowel.

haa-klo (It is a bag)

○ *ŋoo-ŋ* (forest)

kx'elo (blanket, item of apparel)

Example of *õ* :

○ *õõ* (son)

7. *u* is of fairly stable quality occurring in the position indicated on the chart.

*ʔu*²*e* (you - plural)

*ŋa-/uu*³ (They are Bantu people)

haa-n-fagu (It is my chest)

Examples of *ũ* :

*!ũ*²*u* or *||ũ*²*u* (intestines)

/khũ (hair)

kl'eũ (blood)

8. Sequences of the type [q̤i], [q̤əi] and [q̤həi], heard in forms like [q̤əin] (be a female) and

¹ (i) In this section many examples are given in phrases and sentences in order to foreshadow the discussion on morphology in section B and augment the number of examples. Hyphens represent morphemic divisions. These hyphens may be removed to produce the word unit. Any morphophonemic changes are indicated.

(ii) In normal quick speech the initial morpheme is usually heard as *ŋ*, the *i* being lost before the syllabic nasal consonant.

² (i) *haadebe* is the common contraction of *haya-debe* (see § 74). The morphemic division between *ha-* and *-a-* is not indicated in the numerous examples which follow in which *haa-* appears as a prefixal element.

(ii) Cf. the Zulu ideophone *debe* "of cutting, gashing, splitting".

³ *ŋa- < ŋ-ya-*, and is the equivalent of *haa-* which is used with plural nouns or nouns indicating things occurring in quantity. The morphemic division is not indicated in the examples which follow.

[qhəii] (hand), are interpreted phonemically as *qi*, *q'i* and *qhi* (i.e. *q'iy* "be a female" and *qhii* "hand"). The central lax vowel is confined to a position between a post-velar plosive consonant and a close front vowel, and is regarded, therefore, as a non-significant off-glide associated with the comparatively long distance between the preceding and succeeding points of articulation. The off-glide may be faintly heard before [ɛ] in the sequence *qe*.

9. The Syllabic Nasals

Syllable structure is typically CV or V. Wherever *m*, *n*, *ɲ*, *ŋ* stand final in a word,¹ or before a consonant phoneme within a word, they are syllabic and may be equated to the true vowel phonemes.² Our field recordings usually indicate the syllabic nasals as phonetically long, although not always so in word-final position.

haa-ŋ-uɪŋ (It is my kidney)

haa-!ŋaŋ gi-iŋ²e (It is my book; lit. : book of mine)

ŋ/um/iso (afternoon)

It will be seen later that *ŋ* is by far the commonest of the syllabic nasals and, in fact, many instances of the occurrence of *m*, *n*, *ɲ* are in morphophonemic variants as the result of assimilation of *ŋ* to a following consonant. The replacement of *ŋ* by *m*, *n*, *ɲ* in this way is common in quick speech, but in slow speech does not always occur.

amβaŋe (You suck) < *aŋ-βaŋ-e*

aŋjiŋwe (You grind) < *aŋ-jjiŋ-we*

nt'a²an (I go) < *ŋ-t'a²an*

Nasals in positions other than those noted above are non-syllabic.

ŋ-xenu-wa (I perspire)

aŋa (well, nicely – used adverbially)

aŋ-limi-ye (You hunt)

¹ Only vowels and syllabic nasals occupy this position.

² Note, however, *ŋako²oŋ* (It is beer) in which the initial nasal consonant is syllabic. In full, however, this form is *ŋ-ya-ko²oŋ* (see § 74(c)). Our statement regarding the distribution of syllabic nasal consonants therefore holds good if *ŋ* is interpreted in terms of the

10. Nasalized Vowels

It is clear that nasalized vowels are in phonemic contrast with their non-nasalized equivalents. Observe these vowel phonemes contrasting in analogous environments :

haa-/ũũ (It is a spear)

cf. *haa-/uu* (It is a Bantu person)

haa-gā-zi (It is a reed)

cf. *haa-ga²a* (It is the sky)

In these examples there is no evidence that a succeeding syllabic nasal consonant has caused the nasalization of the preceding vowel. In the majority of cases of nasalized vowels, however, there is clear evidence of the influence of a syllabic nasal consonant.³ The following alternative forms have been recorded :

ʔii or *ʔiy* (eat)

t'a²āā or *t'a²an* (go, walk)

tuy or *tũũ* (skin)

βumiy or *βumii* (ancestral spirit)

hiŋ²e or *hii²e* (they)

Note also how the addition of a suffix to a form which is consistently recorded with a final nasalized vowel, often serves to restore a lost nasal consonant.

han-swina (< *swii-ya*) (He is fat), cf. *ŋa-swii* (It is fat)

iŋ-ŋiŋe (< *ŋi-ye*) (I lie down), cf. *ŋi-ziŋ* (to lie, lying)

In Eastern Bushman any sequence of vowel + syllabic nasal consonant (particularly in word-final position) has a potential alternative in the equivalent nasalized vowel standing alone. In many such cases, nasalization occurs over the latter part of the vowel only, but it is necessary, nevertheless, to record these as nasalized vowels. From the data already given, it will be seen immediately that many cases of nasalization arise from

morphophonemic change. We have accepted this interpretation because this is the only recorded example of a syllabic nasal not complying with our statement given above regarding the distribution of these sounds.

³ In nearly all cases the nasal is *ŋ*, but note *t'a²āā* or *t'a²an* (go, walk).

the fact that the closure which produces the nasal consonant is not always achieved, and, instead, a partially nasalized vowel is heard. (Note that these vowels are often phonetically long.) We have, therefore, to recognize instances of fluctuation between nasalized and non-nasalized vowels. It should be observed, however, that any vowel standing before a nasal consonant is nasalized to some degree, but this nasalization is seldom acoustically prominent and is not marked in this paper.¹

II. The Phonemic Interpretation of Vocoids in Sequence²

One vocoid following immediately upon another is not a common type of sequence in Bushman words although it does occur, e.g.

[ɪntʔa:e]* (I dance)

In this example the characteristic length of the word-penultimate syllable (this is probably a borrowed feature, see § 48) indicates the separate nature of *a* and *e*, i.e. they are two vowel phonemes in sequence.

However, the sequences given below are unique in that they constitute close knit combinations which may possibly be interpreted as single diphthongal phonemes.

[eu] as in [iʔeu] (kindle a fire)
[kxeuzi]⁴ (work - noun)
[cheun] (rain)
[kʔʔeuŋ] (hit)
[eo] as in [cʔeo] (stone)

The following points associated with the occurrence of these sequences should be noted :

- (a) In normal quick speech these sequences in word-medial position are frequently reduced to a single vocoid by mutual assimilation.

* *n* and *ŋ* are all syllabic.

¹ In the nasalization of vowels in *±khomani*, C. M. Doke encountered similar problems to those discussed in this paragraph. His conclusion that nasalization is non-phonemic is not borne out by our data, however. See C. M. Doke, "An Outline of *±khomani* Bushman Phonetics", *Bushmen of the Southern Kalahari*, Johannesburg, 1937, p. 67.

² This paragraph deals with unlike vocoids in sequence. The interpretation of single long vocoids

The vocoid resulting from this assimilation of a back and front vowel has slight lip-rounding and something of the quality of a central vowel. Our early field recordings (which reflected the quick speech of our linguistically unsophisticated informants) indicate the form given above in the following way :

[aŋkʔʔiŋwe] or [aŋkʔʔeŋwe]* (You hit)
[ŋchĩŋwe] or [ŋchẽŋwe]* (It rains)

- (b) In the sequences [eu] and [eo], the second vocoid may be consonantalized and as consonant be completely assimilated to following identical consonant.

[ŋ]ʔe:we]⁵* (I roast)
[ŋ]kxe:we]⁶* (I work)

- (c) Instances of [eu] in word-final position being reduced to [e:] or [e] have been observed.

[aŋ'eu] or [aŋ'e:]⁷* (You are absent)
[klʔeu]⁷ or [klʔe] (Bush person)
[kxeu] or [kxe:]⁷ (work).

- (d) In slow speech, when both segments of the sequence are heard, both are short but acoustically equally prominent, and neither can be regarded as a mere vocalic glide.

- (e) In these sequences neither vocoid individually ever reflects the characteristic word-penultimate syllable length.

- (f) Within the limitations of our tonetic data it can be said that both vocoids in these sequences bear the same tone.

The main reasons for rejecting the interpretation of these sequences as single diphthongal phonemes are :

- (i) It does not seem that these vocoids in combination give rise to a set of sound features which can be interpreted unitarily on the

and identical vocoids in sequence (the second vocoid being audibly rearticulated) is discussed in § 48.

³ *iŋ-iŋ'a-e*.

⁴ *kʔeu-si*. -*si* is a suffix used in forming nouns from verbs.

⁵ This word comprises three morphemes, viz *ŋ*-*'eu*-*we*.

⁶ This word comprises three morphemes, viz *ŋ*-*kxeu*-*we*.

⁷ The full forms are seldom heard. The contracted forms are therefore exemplified in this paper.

phonemic level (*vide* points (a), (b) and (c) which refer to the reduction of one or both segments);

- (ii) These suspected diphthongs are very similar in their constituents and there is no wider pattern of vocoids in combination which may be interpreted as diphthongs.

We therefore regard these sequences as two vowel phonemes in sequence. If, however, it can be shown that sequences of this type invariably bear the same tone (i.e. a single supra-segmental phoneme), it is possible to regard them as comprising the nucleus of a single phonemic syllable.¹

II THE CONSONANT PHONEMES

12. Eastern Bushman presents a most extensive consonantal system, some 100 consonant phonemes having been identified (including labialized forms²). This number may be augmented by filling the gaps in certain series, where our limited vocabulary has failed to provide examples. Among the more unique features is a series of post-velar consonants, a recognition of which, has, apparently, not previously been made. Note that there are no nasal compound phonemes. There are potentially 28 compound click phonemes (excluding labialized forms).

13. The Plosive Consonants

All plosives are explosive. Significant contrasts between plosives seem to be related to (a) the point of articulation – bilabial, alveolar, prepalatal velar,³ post-velar;⁴ (b) the manner of articulation – voiced, plain voiceless, voiceless aspirated, voiceless ejective. There is, in addition,

a glottal plosive. The voiced plosives are weakly voiced and may easily be confused with the plain voiceless plosives.

The intensity of ejection and aspiration varies considerably. This, combined with a certain amount of free fluctuation between the different types of voiceless plosives (and affricates), occasionally raises doubts as to whether they are in fact phonemically contrastive. These doubts are strengthened by Doke's findings in *±khomani*, where there is only one series of voiceless plosive phonemes, which phonetically may be plain voiceless or ejective.⁵ There are a number of forms, however, in which one type of plosive was consistently recorded, and even minimal word pairs which seemed to be differentiated by the manner of articulation of a voiceless plosive or affricative consonant.⁶ We have no other choice, therefore, but to regard the three series of voiceless plosives as phonemically distinct. It is suggested that the development of three contrastive series of voiceless plosive phonemes represents a borrowing from the local dialect of Zulu-Swazi, in which aspirated plosives contrast phonemically with voiceless ejective plosives.

14. Plain Voiceless Explosives *t*, *k*, *q* :

haa-towa (Who is it ? ; lit. : It is who ?)

haa-ʔa-keley (It is his heart)

haa-kaŋ (It is a road)

iŋ-| iŋ qewe (I greet)

Examples of labialized *tw*, *kw* :

pa-n-twa-ŋ (Who (plural) is it ?)

haa-kwii (It is a person)

observed, however, that even in the latter group, velar and prepalatal plosives may fluctuate in certain words.

⁴ On occasions, something of the quality of implosive sounds may be discerned in the post-velar plosives, particularly voiced *G*, but it is thought that this is connected with the point of articulation on the soft palate. We do not believe that these sounds are truly implosive in view of the facts that there are an aspirated variety and an absence of a wider pattern of implosive consonants.

⁵ C. M. Doke, *op. cit.*, pp. 70–72.

⁶ E.g. *ts'ü* (bite) and *tsü* (know).

¹ See Kenneth L. Pike, *Phonemics*, Ann Arbor 1947, pp. 65, 90.

² Labialization takes the form of lip-rounding which is almost simultaneous with the articulation within the mouth. The full range of labialized consonants is probably not indicated in this paper which is based on a vocabulary of about 450 words. Note that the addition of *w* to the basic symbol indicates labialization.

³ In the speech of one group of informants, there was no phonemic distinction between prepalatal and velar plosives. This group used prepalatal consonants before front vowels, but in other environments substituted a velar consonant for the prepalatal consonant used by our second group of informants. It was

15. Voiceless Ejective Explosives *t'*, *c'*, *q'* :*e-t'ama* (at Lake Chrissie)*u-c'i* or *u-c'i* (you all)*an-t'ec'e-wa* (How are you ? ; lit. : You are well ?)*ij-q'obiye* (<*q'obi-ye*) (I go home)*haa-kwi-q'iy* (It is a woman)Example of labialized *kw'* :*kw'ana* (stick)16. Voiceless Aspirated Explosives *ph*, *th*, *ch*,*kh*, *qh* :*haa-phole* (It is tobacco)*pho-wa* (Loosen !)*thoba* (look at)*thugu* (side)*haa-kwi-q'iy cha-zi* (It is a woman's breast)*haa-tsi² ela chigaa* (It is a daughter)*ij-khuu-wa* (I am warm)*kha²a-zi* (smoke)*haa-η-qhii* (It is my hand)*haa-qhobo* (It is a throat)Example of labialized *khw* :*ij-khwa-ηe¹* (I return)17. Voiced Explosives *b*, *d*, *j*, *g*, *G²* :*haa-/oba²a* (It is a dish)*e-ja²agu* (on top, above)*ij-Go-we-we* (I am leaving you)*ij-Ga²a* (I wait)Example of labialized *gw* :*gwana* (be three in number)

18. Glottal Plosive ²³ : Except when initial in verbal roots (e.g. in the imperative forms given below) the glottal plosive is often weakly articulated in word-initial position and our field recordings contain a number of alternative forms, with and without the initial glottal plosive.

Note that in root-medial position this consonant nearly always separates like vowels.

²o²o-wa (Pull !)*²uu-wa* *⊙aa* (Take meat !)

19. The Fricative Consonants

Fricative consonants with medial oral release occur in the bilabial, velar, glottal, alveolar and prepalatal positions, and with the latter two positional types voiced and voiceless fricatives are in phonemic contrast. Both voiced and voiceless glottal fricatives are heard, but voicing is non-significant in this case. The bilabial fricative is voiced and the velar is voiceless.

A voiced and voiceless fricative with lateral oral release occur in the alveolar position, these sounds being identical with Zulu *hl* and *dl*. A post-alveolar "fricative *r*" whose quality approaches that of the similar sound in English, is also found.

20. Bilabial Voiced Fricative β :

haa-βumiη (It is an ancestral spirit)*im-βa-ye* (I whisper)21. Alveolar Fricatives, Voiceless *s*, Voiced *z* :*in-sa* (I come)*e-mo²osa* (on this side)*haa-/khe-zi* (It is salt)*ha-za-t'a²an* (He will go)Example of labialized *sw* :*swāā* (breathe)22. Prepalatal Fricatives, Voiceless *f*, Voiced *j* :*faa* (water)*ij-fo-we* (I dwell)*aη-je²e-we* (You refuse)*ij-jij-we* (I grind)Example of labialized *fw* :*haa-fwee* (It is the wind)

¹ The root *khwa* is also found as *khwi*. The relationship between these two forms has not been ascertained.

² The use of capitals in a phonemic orthography is clearly undesirable. We are, however, faced with a serious shortage of symbols for the large number of consonants in Bushman and, with a view to the printer's limitations as regards special symbols, this practice is regarded as unavoidable.

³ This phonetic segment is given the status of a separate phoneme for the reason that it shares the root-initial position in nouns and verbs with other non-suspicious consonantal phonemes. If, for instance, the glottal plosive were not afforded this status, the examples given above would have to be regarded as vowel commencing forms and would be unique in this respect.

23. Velar Voiceless Fricative *x* :*haa-ŋ-xu* (It is my face)*iŋ-xenu-wa* (I perspire)Example of labialized *xw* :*haa-ŋ-xwa* (It is my mother)

24. Glottal Fricative *h* : This consonant does not occur in root-medial position. No precise rules governing the appearance of [h] or [ɦ] can be formulated, but the former is more common. The latter is often found in sentence-initial position.¹

hãã (appear)*iŋ-heuŋ-we* (I ask)

25. Voiced Post-Alveolar Fricative *ɹ*² : This consonant has not been found in word or stem-initial position.

haa-!iɹi (It is the lid of a pot)*iŋ-khuɹu-wa* (I am warm)26. Lateral Fricatives, Voiceless *hl*, voiced *dl* :*haa-hlaa* (It is famine)*in-dluŋ-wa* (I smile)*ndlobe* (tomorrow)Example of labialized *dlw* :*haa-n-dlwĩ* (It is my ear)

27. The Affricative Consonants

Affricative consonants with medial oral release occur in the alveolar, prepalatal and velar positions, the former two positional types having the series plain voiceless voiceless ejective / voiced. In the velar position, only voiceless ejectives are found. A heterorganic affricate [tx] also occurs.³ A highly distinctive feature of Eastern Bushman is a series of laterally released affricates (see § 31 below).

¹ In connected speech *w* and *y* may replace *h* by assimilation to a preceding vowel, e.g.

haakwii ya'ena < *haakwii ha'ena**haakwikl'oo wa'ena* < *haakwikl'oo ha'ena*.

² It is possible that this sound should be united phonemically with [r] (see § 33). Fluctuation between these sounds does occur although there appear to be certain words in which the one sound only is used.

28. Alveolar Affricates, Plain Voiceless *ts*, Ejective *ts'*, Voiced *dz* :*haa-tsebe* (It is a spear)*in-tsii-ya* (I know)*in-ts'ii-ye* (I bite)*ts'ee* (very much, greatly)*dziya-ŋ²e* (It is they)Examples of labialized *tsw'* :*haa-tsw'ele* (It is a baboon)*tsw'a²a* (a sore)29. Prepalatal Affricates, Plain Voiceless *tʃ*, Ejective *tʃ'*, Voiced *dʒ* :*tʃãã* (be difficult)*iŋ-tʃ'ee* (I fight)*iŋ-tʃ'emi-ya* (I am satisfied – as regards hunger)*haa-kwii²ela dʒa²a-ye* (It is a person who bewitches)Examples of labialized *tʃw*, *dʒw* :*haŋ-tʃwĩŋ* (He is short)*haa-dʒwaa* (It is a pot)30. The Velar Affricate *kx'* :*iŋ-kv'eĩ* (I laugh)*haa-kx'elo* (It is a blanket or item of apparel)31. Lateral Affricates, Plain Voiceless *kl*, Ejective *kl'*, Aspirated *klh⁴* :

These lateral affricates can be described phonetically as follows: The tongue is raised and expanded to make a closure somewhere between the velar and palatal positions and down the sides of the glossopalatine arch. This closure is then broken near the base of either the right or left pillar of this arch. This series of affricates comprises the varieties plain voiceless voiceless ejective voiceless aspirated.

An attempt to associate these sounds individually with certain environments has been unsuccessful.

³ This sound is also found in *ɛkhomani*. See C. M. Doke, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

⁴ The laterally released ejected affricate *kl* in Zulu has been attributed to Bushman influence. The extensive development of this type of consonant in Bushman lends support to this view.

- haa-klolo* (It is the moon)
haa-klo (It is a bag)
na-kl'e (They are Bushmen)
na-η-kl'oy (They are my children)
na-klhumij (They are dogs)

Examples of labialized *klw'*, *klhw* :

- haa-klw'i* (It is an egg)
u-klhwāā (Bushman salutation on first meeting)¹

32. The Heterorganic Affricate *tʰ* :

- i-t aa-e* (We are sad)
an-txuuij (You are ill)

33. The Vibrant Consonant

Alveolar Vibrant *r* : The "rolled *r*" is the only vibrant consonant. It has not been found in word or stem-initial position.

- ari* (small)
haa-firi (It is a buck - type unidentified)

34. The Frictionless Continuant Consonants

These include the four nasal consonants which may be syllabic or non-syllabic, and the laterally released alveolar frictionless continuant with the quality of "clear *l*".

35. Frictionless Continuant Nasals *m*, *n*, *ɲ*, *ŋ* :

- Examples of non-syllabic nasal consonants :
haa-gumi (It is a hole)
in-t'uni-ya (I am tired)
ij-○iye (<○*i-ye*) (I lie down)

Examples of the syllabic forms are found in the subjectival pronominal proclitics, i.e.

- ij- ~im- ~in- ~iji-*.

36. Lateral Frictionless Continuant *l*³ :

- haa-!ala* (It is an axe)
haa-η-!eley (It is my neck)

¹ Literally "Your (plural) affair".

² An intrusive [s] may be heard between [t] and [x], i.e. [tsx].

³ A fairly common alternance between *l* and *n* occurs, e.g. *tsu'e* or *tsu'ene* (baboon).

⁴ The fact that we have perforce used *w* to represent (a) a single consonant phoneme, and (b) the additional element of labialization in other consonants, is a potential source of confusion, because the sequence "nasal consonant + *w*" may be interpreted either as a single labialized consonant or a sequence of a syllabic

37. The Semi-Vowel Consonants *w* and *y*

The segments [w] and [j] often occur in situations where it is possible to interpret them as non-phonemic inter-vocalic glides (e.g. [w]) when standing between, or followed or preceded by [o] or [u], and [j] in a similar relationship to [e] or [i]. From the fact that [w] and [j] occur in environments from which [o] and [u], [i] and [e] are absent, it appears that these glides are phonemes in their own right. They are therefore recognized as such, except where there is strong evidence that they are mere transitional glides, e.g. *ʔa²e* (you - singular) has a variant form [a_je] which is a weakened form in which [j] has no place as a consonant phoneme.⁴

- !e-wa* (Carry !)
ij-!i-we (I dig)
ha-ya-'uu (It is a Bantu person)

38. The Compound Click Phonemes

There are four basic clicks, viz. the bilabial ("kiss") click ○; the dental click with medial oral release |; the prepalatal click with medial oral release !; the alveolar click with lateral oral release ʡ. These clicks occur with seven different types of release or accompaniment,⁵ each of which appears to be phonemically distinct in the speech of our informants. These accompaniments are set out below.

39. With voiceless velar plosive ○,⁶ |, !, ʡ. This type of accompaniment lacks any acoustic prominence, and this is a significant feature which contrasts with other types of accompaniment to the clicks.

- aa* (meat)
haa-η-○ōō (It is my son)
haa-η-'ee (It is my name)
ij-!imi-ye (I want or I hunt)
haa-'ele²e (It is a child)

nasal consonant followed by the consonant *w*. It can be stated, however, that *ɲw* (no other instances of nasal consonants followed by *w* have been found) *c* in always be interpreted as the latter. Labialized nasal consonants appear to be missing from the phoneme inventory.

⁵ It has not been possible to secure examples of each of the 28 compound click phonemes.

⁶ In word-initial position, this click is often weak and barely discernible. Its true quality can be heard in other non-initial positions.

Examples of labialized /w, /w, //w :

- /wi-○ari (bird)
!waa (be one only or alone)
//wa (do)

40. With glottal plosive /', /'¹ :

- iy-!e-we /i (I kindle a fire)
na-!ii (It is the ground)
haa-debe ?ela //i-wa (It is a new knife)

41. With voiceless aspirated velar plosive /kh,

- !kh, //kh :
na-/khee (It is grass)
!khii (be sharp)
iy-!khibi-ye (I fall)
haa-!kholo (It is a horse)
haa-η-//khi (It is my tooth)
iy-//kho-wa (I am thirsty)

Example of labialized /khw :

- haa- khwi-zi (It is a rope)

42. With voiced velar explosive /g, /g :

- haa-!gelo (It is a shadow)
iy-!geb²e-ya (I am afraid)
/gii (horn)
e-!gaa (at night)

Example of labialized gw :

- iy-gwa-η²e gwa-ziη (I dream a dream)

43. With simultaneous velar nasal ○η, /η, !η, η²: Note that the resonance of [η] is heard throughout the articulation of the click.

- haa-○ηe-zi (It is a louse)
na-○ηoo-η (It is a forest)
ay- ηi³ (You see)

¹ Due to the fact that this type of release was not recognized as phonemically significant until our field investigations were fairly far advanced, ○, ', !, as found in certain words in this paper, may have to be substituted by ○', ', !', '.

² These single consonant phonemes should be carefully differentiated from the sequences of two phonemes η○, η, η!, η in which a velar nasal precedes the articulation of the click and ceases before that articulation takes place. Note also that the sequences η○η, η η, etc., are phonetically almost indistinguishable from ○η, η, etc., except, possibly, by the longer duration of the nasal element.

³ This root has also been recorded as /ga. The

- haa-!noma (It is a knee)
!yi-ya (Awake !)
haa-!ηaη (It is a book)
e-!ηii (at home)

Example of labialized /ηw :

- !ηwa²a-ziη (untruths)

44. With voiceless velar affricate ○kx, /kx, !kx, //kx⁴ :

- iy-○kvo-η (I chew)
!kvoη (European)
!kvee-ziη (speaking, to speak)
!kva²a or !kxa²aη (chief, God)
!kvama (Cut !)
//kvee or //kvexo (be big)
iy-//kxa²a (I am angry)

Examples of labialized /kxw, !kxw, //kxw :

- iy- k wi-ye (I catch)
!kwa (head of cattle)
//kwa (be bad or evil)

45. With simultaneous velar nasal and glottal fricative /ηh, //ηh :

While accompanying the velar nasal, the glottal fricative has little acoustic prominence. The aural recognition of this accompaniment to the click emanates largely from the fact that the glottal fricative element runs on into the following vowel and achieves its greatest prominence there.⁵

- iy-!ηhom²a-e or iy-//ηhom²a-e (I cough)

46. In comparing Eastern Bushman with the closely related dialect ≠khomani, the smaller incidence of clicks in the former is noticeable. It is of interest that Miss Bleek once observed that

relationship between the two forms has not been ascertained.

⁴ The additional elements of ejection and aspiration may be heard as well as the plain voiceless affricate. In our main group of informants, however, neither of these types seemed to constitute a separate phonemic series. We have reason to doubt that this holds good with regard to certain other speakers, with whom the ejected release of the affricate did seem to be phonemically significant.

⁵ It is of interest that this type of accompaniment occurs fairly commonly in Xhosa where it is symbolized by nge, ngq, ngx or nch, ngh, nvh. It occurs in words such as inchuka (hyena), incha (grass) and ingqele (frost).

"The gradual dropping of clicks is found in any Bushman language subject to alien influence".¹ When bearing in mind the present-day environment of Eastern Bushman, this conclusion seems justified. From the following examples, it will be seen that the weakening of the compound click phonemes often takes the form of the loss of the click and the preservation of the accompaniment or release. Note that the distinctive post-velar plosives and laterally released affricates in Eastern Bushman often correspond to compound click phonemes in *±khomani*.

	Eastern Bushman	<i>±khomani</i>
moon	<i>klolo</i>	[±ʔoʔo]
person	<i>kwii</i>	[!kwi]
sky	<i>ga²a, ja²a</i>	[!ga:]
water	<i>qhaa²</i>	[!kha]
wind	<i>fwee</i>	[±kowe]

Evidence of the weakening of compound click phonemes presents itself in the alternative forms *//gu/ya* or *gu/ya* (hill, mountain).

III. PROSODY

47. Tone³

Our tonetic data reflect each syllable as the bearer of one of three level tones or a gliding tone. Instances of the latter are not numerous and usually occur as rising glides on long word-final vowels. These glides are only prominent when the word stands in isolation or in final position in a sentence. There is no evidence that they are of any phonemic significance.

The high, mid and low level tones would, however, appear to be in tonemic contrast and the minimal pair given below⁴, in which the difference

in meaning depends entirely on the tone pattern, provides a good test of this. If less than three relative levels of tone are used in the utterance of these two words, or if the tonal patterns are disturbed, confusion arises immediately.

(a) *hádgumi*⁵ (It is a hole)

(b) *hádgùmi* (It is a muscle)

Another factor lending support to the recognition of three level tonemes, is the unusual big fall from the tones marked as high tones, form (b) to those marked as low tones.⁶ This fall is noticeably greater than that heard between the high and low tonemes in Nguni and Sotho (with their ditonemic structure) and is regarded as indicative of the existence of a third significant level of tone between the high and low tonemes.

The low toneme is the least common of the three but may be heard in :

háð○hòòxi (It is a tree)

ááβàŋe (You suck)

!wàà (be one only, or alone)

hán²à (He is present)⁷

48. Length

Vowels have been recorded with one of two relative lengths - long or short, and this contrast is often significant. Bushman has, however, acquired from its Bantu neighbours the feature of penultimate syllable length in the word, phrase or sense-group-final position, or in the word in isolation. The overlap between this non-phonemic use of length and semantic length often raises problems as regards the correct marking of vowels, but every effort is made in this paper to mark semantic length only and not characteristic length. Vowels with significant long length are commonest in monosyllabic roots, although this length may disappear when

tonemes and recording the tone patterns of a restricted number of words.

⁴ Due possibly to the heavy consonantal development, very few satisfactory word pairs differentiated only by tone have been found.

⁵ The mid tone is not marked.

⁶ The Coyne Pitch Indicator (an electrical operated instrument in the Phonetics Laboratory at the University of the Witwatersrand) records this fall as a little more than an octave.

⁷ High tone on *ŋ*.

¹ D. F. Bleek, "Grammatical Notes and Texts in the *!auni* Language", *Bushmen of the Southern Kalahari*, Johannesburg, 1937, p. 196. The forms [!ka:a] and [kha] (water), which she quotes, may be compared with the form indicating "water" given in the comparative table in § 46 above.

² The two forms *qhaa* and *faa* signifying "water" are not synonymous, but the precise difference in significance has not been accurately determined.

³ The scope of our tonetical and tonological investigations has been confined to establishing the

the root is inflected or incorporated in a compound word, e.g. *kwii* (person), *kwii'iy* (woman).

A sequence of two vowel phonemes is quite possible in Bushman, and a few forms have on some occasions been recorded with a single phonetically long vowel and on others with a sequence of two identical vowels with the audible rearticulation of the second. For instance, the alternance between [a:] and [aa] occurs commonly in the prefixal element *haa-*, e.g. [ha:gumi] or [haagumi], but here morphology indicates the interpretation of two vowel phonemes in sequence as preferable in view of the fact that *haa-* < *ha-ya-*. Two identical vowels in sequence are of course immediately recognized as such if there is a difference in tonal level between them.

Although a distinction in orthography between a single long vowel and two identical vowels in sequence is preferable, we do not feel in position to make this distinction with consistent accuracy, and have adopted instead the compromise of using only the double vowel symbol. It may be taken, however, that in the majority of cases this symbol represents a single phonetically long vowel.

49. Stress

Stress is not a prominent feature, although it is occasionally noticed on a word-initial syllable. It is of no phonemic significance.

IV. DISTRIBUTION OF PHONEMES

50. Syllables comprising a single non-vocoid segment followed by a vocoid segment predominate in Eastern Bushman. This predominant type of syllable structure influences our phonemic interpretation of sequences of non-vocoid segments preceding a single vocoid. It is also seen that most of these sequences constitute very common types of phonetically complex single phonemes and for these reasons the click compounds, affricates and labialized

consonants are interpreted monophonematically. The only sequence of non-vocoids whose monophonematic interpretation may be regarded as dubious, owing to its phonetic make-up, is the heterorganic affricate *tx*. However, the facts that this is the only heterorganic affricate, and its distribution parallels that of all other consonant phonemes, disposes of the possibility of a polyphonematic interpretation.

Syllable structure is, therefore, simply CV or V.¹ The existence of a C syllable is also recognized, but this is confined entirely to frictionless continuant nasals functioning as syllabics. Any type of syllable may occupy any position in a linguistic form and, except in instances already given, no serious limitations as regards any particular vowel or consonant phoneme occupying either the C or V position within the syllable have been noted.

Two cases which may raise doubts as to the validity of our interpretation of syllable structure are: (i) the sequence *gs* in forms such as *phigsa* (argue); and (ii) the sequence *b²* in a form such as *iy-!geb²e-ya* (I am afraid). Although no satisfactory explanation for the latter has been found, the former is merely a contraction involving the loss of an intervening vowel *i* between *g* and *s*. This is readily seen when the form given above is recognized as the borrowed stem *-phikisa* from Zulu-Swazi. This contraction also occurs in indigenous forms.

V. FLUCTUATION AND VARIATION

51. Earlier investigators of Bushman have observed the occurrence of unconditioned fluctuation and variation within and between phonemes, to an extent unparalleled in other languages. D. F. Bleek observed it, and Doke called it "phonetic licence", exemplifying it with four different forms for "child" and "fish".² The widespread occurrence of this phenomenon in Bushman mitigates against its acceptance as a

¹ The recognition of a word-initial weak glottal plosive will, of course, convert many initial V syllables

to CV.

² C. M. Doke, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

sign of the decay of the Eastern dialect. The following examples of inter-phonemic variation exemplify the phenomenon referred to here ¹:

- c'* and *j* in *c'e²e* or *je²e* (here)
- k* and *g* in *kwi* or *gwi* ² (person)
- j* and *g* in *ja²a* or *ga²a* (sky)
- ch* and *kh* in *chay* or *khay* (milk)
- t* and *t'* in *tu* or *t'u* (mouth)
- l* and *n* in *tsw'ele* or *tsw'ene* (baboon)
- /k* and */kh* in */kvoj* or */khoy* (European)
- i* and *e* in *²ila* and *²ela* (that - demonstrative)
- gwii* and *gwee* ³ (person)
- i* and *u* in *xeniva* or *xenuva* (perspire)

B. MORPHOLOGY

I. INTRODUCTION

53. The word in Eastern Bushman comprises either a root standing alone, or, more commonly, a root in combination with one or more affixes of several different orders, and, possibly, a clitic. The compounding of roots to form a single word also occurs. Our criteria for word division have been mainly - (a) the ability to stand alone and be freely moveable in the sentence, and (b) the placement of penultimate syllable length.

54. A division of words into two main classes ("parts of speech") of "verb" and "substantive" (comprising "nouns", "pronouns" and "demonstratives") facilitates the description of the morphology, and is a division which is reflected in the structure of the language itself. For example, when verbs become verbal nouns (e.g. "running" in "I like running") they acquire the nominal suffix *-zi* or *-ziy*. Our division of words into two main classes is made according to function and form (in particular, the various orders of affixal and clitical elements used in the different types of word). This does not mean,

Variation between nasalized and non-nasalized varieties of a vowel may also occur (see § 10).

52. Associated with the free variation between phonemes is the variation in allomorphic forms of affixes with little or no relationship to phonological, morphological or syntactic environments.⁴ For instance, *gi* expressing possession or ownership also occurs as *ge*, although these variants are partially morphologically determined in that certain forms generally (but not invariably) favour one rather than the other. Other examples of this type of variation will be seen in section B.

however, that all words can be assigned to their classes without hesitation, because a word does not necessarily incorporate an affix with which to establish its identity. We believe, however, that a wider knowledge of doubtful forms and their occurrence will lead to their placement in one or other of the word classes we have indicated. It will be seen that some forms seem to have a place amongst both verbs and substantives, e.g. *swii* (be fat - verb; fat - noun)⁵ and *djwaa* or *djwāa* which as a noun means "pot" and as a verb "be black".

In order to accommodate certain non-substantival usages (and certain formal peculiarities connected with these usages) of forms which are basically substantives, there is a treatment of "adverbial" and "verbal" usages under the heading of "Substantive".

II. SUBSTANTIVES

55. Substantives usually serve as subjects or objects within the sentence, but may, in addition, function adverbially without undergoing any inflexion. (The inflexion of substantives to form "adverbs" does occur.) Substantives

¹ In cases of fluctuation, either both forms or the commonest form is given in this paper.

² *gwi* occurs in compound words such as *kl'egwi-kl'oo* (male Bushman).

³ E.g. *kl'egwii* or *kl'egwee* (Bush person).

⁴ It is speculative whether this does not account

for Miss Bleek's wide range of tense, mood and aspect prefixes used with the verb in *Jauni* (D. F. Bleek, *op. cit.*, p. 197), which certainly has no parallel in Eastern Bushman.

⁵ E.g. *ja-swii* (It is fat).

han-swiiya (< *swii-ya*) (He is fat).

may be divided into nouns, pronouns and demonstratives.

56. Nouns

Some examples of nouns :

klhwāā (an affair, "inda6a")

u-zi (bee)

fwēe (air, wind)

c'eo (stone)

'umi (sun)

ana²a (thumb)

tu-ŋ (mouths)

kl'a i (sheep)

57. Pronouns

The following self-standing pronouns are found :

Singular	Plural
<i>?iŋ²e</i> or <i>iŋ²e</i> (I)	<i>?i²e</i> or <i>i²e</i> (we)
<i>?a²e</i> or <i>a²e</i> (you)	<i>?u²e</i> or <i>u²e</i> (you)
<i>ha²e</i> (he, she, it)	<i>hiŋ²e</i> (they)

A feature of the Bushman sentence is the liberal sprinkling of pronominal elements within it, the repetition pronominally of subject or object being quite common. The forms given above are the full forms which are heard in isolation, but in connected speech they undergo changes due to reduction, assimilation, etc., which give rise to a number of variant forms. Most of these variant forms can be associated with particular usages within the sentence (for example, as representatives of the object following immediately upon a verb), and (taking the example just given) become so closely associated with the verb, that they must be regarded as part of it. Pronominal elements of this type are best treated as clitics¹ and we treat therefore of subjectival pronominal proclitics, subjectival pronominal

¹ A difficult morphological problem is posed by a number of morphemes which, in grammatical behaviour, have a dual character. On the one hand they appear as roots and as such constitute words or the cores of words, and on the other they occur in complex words as non-roots, phonologically bound to other root morphemes. The obvious treatment of all such forms as clitics gives rise to the unusual situation, however, of a single word incorporating two proclitic elements. The occurrence of the pronouns provides a case in point, but see also *gi* as used in the possessive construction (§ 88).

² (i) The possible alternatives *ŋ* and *?iŋ* are

enclitics, objectival pronominal enclitics and possessive pronominal proclitics. There is a good deal of overlapping in the forms of these various types of clitic, but this division is of assistance in morphological description. It should be borne in mind, however, that we are dealing with worn down forms of the self-standing pronouns, and not with mutually exclusive categories of affixes. It will be seen that the subjectival pronominal proclitics have a more distinctive form than other clitics, but their treatment as proclitics rather than prefixes is justified by the fact that they have no particular association with verbs or substantives, and may be linked with either.

58. Subjectival Pronominal Proclitics

These are distinguished by the loss of the final syllable *?e* of the self-standing forms and the acquisition of *ŋ* in its place in the case of the 2nd person, singular and plural, and the 3rd person singular.

	Singular
1st person	<i>iŋ- ~im- ~in- iŋ-²</i>
2nd "	<i>aŋ- ~am- ~an- ~aŋ- and a-³</i>
3rd "	<i>haŋ- ~ham- ~hin- ~aŋ- and ha-³</i>
	Plural
<i>i-</i>	
<i>uŋ- ~um- ~un- ~uŋ- and u-³</i>	
<i>hiŋ- ~him- hin- ~hiŋ- and hi-³, ŋ-⁴</i>	

Examples : *a-?iŋ thiŋ* (What are you eating ?)

hiŋ-²a (They are present)

un-thoba (You look)

hin-sa or *n-sa* (They are coming)

han-ts'ii-ye (He bites)

59. Subjectival Pronominal Enclitics

These forms arise out of repetition of the type ignored here.

(ii) *iŋ-* is the basic allomorph, the others being phonologically determined. (Homorganicity with the following consonant is the determining factor.) In slow deliberate speech, *iŋ-* may appear in any environment.

³ This cannot be indicated positively as a phonologically determined allomorph. It can only be said that there is a strong tendency to use it before *? , z , y , and h*. Instances of its use before *g* and *j* have also been noted.

⁴ The reduction of *hiŋ-* to a single syllabic nasal *ŋ-~m-~n-~ŋ-* occurs in quick speech.

'I run I' in which the repeated pronoun develops a very close association with the verb. (Note that this repetition of the pronoun may occur at the end of a sentence also, in which case the pronoun usually stands alone.) Only the 1st person singular form is commonly used in this way, i.e. η or η^2e . A few cases of η being used in reference to the 3rd person plural have also been observed.

Example : *in-sa- η^2e* (I come)

Note also : *iy-gi makt'a- η^2e* (I am strong ; lit. : I possess strength I)

60. Objectival Pronominal Enclitics

In slow speech the ordinary self-standing pronoun may follow the verb as representative of the object. In quick speech, however, pronouns usually develop a much closer relationship with the verb and appear in the following forms :

	Singular	Plural
1st person	-ne	-ye
2nd "	-ae	-we
3rd "	-ya ^{2e} , -wa ^{2e} ¹	- η^2e , - ² η

Examples : *sa-ne kv'elo gi-iy^{2e}* (Give me my blanket)

ha-heuy-we-ne (He asks me)

i- η i-we (We see you - plural)

in-sa-ae ² *unēē* (I give you food)

The forms of the pronominal enclitics given here do not always refer to an object. For example, they are regularly used with *khe-* denoting "to, from" and *||ya* denoting "and, with" (see § 73).

61. Pronominal Possessive Proclitics

Two types of possessive construction are found (see § 88), in one of which the noun or pronoun indicating the possessor is placed next to, and before, the noun indicating the thing

possessed. A pronoun, when used in this construction, appears as a pronominal possessive proclitic, the forms of which are given below.

	Singular	Plural
1st person	η - ~ <i>m</i> - ~ <i>n</i> - ~ <i>n</i> - ³	<i>i</i> -
2nd "	² <i>a</i> - ⁴	<i>u</i> -
3rd "	² <i>a</i> - ⁴	?

Examples : *haa- η -xwa* (It is my mother)

haa- η -t'u (It is my mouth)

haa-i- \bigcirc ari (It is our little one - child)

*haa-²*a*- \bigcirc aa* (It is your or his meat)

62. In combination with *c'i* or *c'i* (all), the following pronominal elements have been observed:

1st person, plural	<i>i</i> -
2nd person, plural	<i>u</i> -
3rd person, plural	<i>hii</i> -

Examples : *ic'i* (we all) ; *uc'i* (you all) ; *hii'c'i* (all of them)

63. Demonstratives

Only one type of demonstrative is found, whose significance is a broad one, but it usually corresponds to "that/those" of English. The basic forms of the demonstratives are : ²*ena*, ²*ela*, ²*eta*, ⁵ with the first the commonest and the last the rarest alternative. The demonstratives often occur in combination with the subjectival pronominal proclitics, ⁶ i.e. *ha²ena* with singular reference and *η^2ena* or *hi η^2ena* with plural reference. Demonstratives are used before or after the nouns to which they refer, usually the latter, e.g.

c'i-ya kwii ²*ena* (Call that person)

haa- \bigcirc aa ²*ena* (That is meat)

!kvwa ²*ena* (that head of cattle)

*η -²*a-kl'e* hi η -²*ena** (Those are not people)

*η -²*ena* hi η -kl'oy η -qwele* (Those children are playing)

¹ (i). The use of the self-standing pronoun is quite common here.

(ii) With regard to *w* and *y*, see footnote to § 24.

² The two vowels *a* usually unite to form a single long vowel.

³ Note that when word-initial (i.e. when not preceded by the common *haa-*) these may be heard as *iy-* ~ *im-* ~ *in-* ~ *ip-*.

⁴ It is not possible to indicate how a distinction

is achieved here, because there appears to be no difference in tone. Note, however, the possible alternative form of the possessive construction in § 88.

⁵ Alternative forms occur without the initial glottal plosive.

⁶ Note that in the sentence, these proclitics may be used with either the subject noun or the verb or both (see § 90).

Observe the idiomatic usages :

haa-²ena tsw'ele (Here's the baboon)
η²uye ²ena (immediately), cf. *η²uye* (now)

The demonstratives also play an important part in relative clause formation (see § 89).

64. *The Singular and Plural Forms of Nouns*

A suffix *-η* is associated with many nouns to denote plural number or quantity (e.g. terms denoting liquids). It should be observed, however, that : (a) The use of this suffix is sometimes optional, particularly with nouns indicating quantity ; (b) There are other means of indicating the plural (see below) ; (c) The consonant *η* in word-final position should not always be interpreted as the plural or quantitative suffix. In some forms final *η* is part of the root, e.g. *!kxa²an* (chief), */usiy* (kidney), */kxonj* (European).

Examples incorporating *-η* :

kxe'lo (blanket), *kx'elo-η* (blankets)
○ηoo-zi (tree), *○ηoo-η* (forest)
kw'ana (stick), *kw'a-η¹* (sticks)
ts'agu (eye), *ts'a-η¹* (eyes)
faa, or more rarely, *faa-η* (water)

Note also forms like *swiī* (fat) and *²unēē* (food) in which the nasalized vowels are possibly due to the former presence of *-η* which is now no longer heard.

65. With some nouns an entirely different root indicates the plural, e.g.

kwii (person), *kl'e* (people)
||ele²e (child), *kl'onj²* (children)

66. Plural singificance is sometimes conveyed by compounding words (see § 70).

67. Some forms have both singular and plural significance, e.g.

/uu (Bantu person or persons)
kl'a'i (sheep – singular and plural)

68. *The Suffix -zi∞ -zin*

The alternative forms of this common suffix

¹ See § 71.

² In the absence of a singular form *kl'o*, final *η* cannot be recognized as the plural suffix *-η*.

³ It is hardly ever found in borrowings from

associated with nouns, are morphologically determined in that roots have a preference for one or other form. It is not possible to isolate morphemically the final *η* of *-zin*. Aspects of the distribution and function of this suffix are more easy to indicate than its precise significance :

(a) This suffix accompanies the nominalization of verbal roots. e.g.

in-thand-e ²o²o-zi (I like to pull)
 cf. *iy-²o²o-we* (I pull)
haa-xenu-zi (It is perspiration)
 cf. *iy-xenu-wa* (I perspire)
iy-/gwa-η²e /gwa-zin (lit. : I dream a dream)
haa-dja²a-zin (It is a witch)
 cf. *haa-kwii ²ela dja²a-ye* (It is a person who bewitches)
iy-○iye (<○i-ye) (I lie down)
 cf. *in-thand-e ○i-zin* (I like lying down)
im-βa-ye /kxee-zin (I whisper ; lit. : I whisper speech)
 cf. *iy-/kxee* (I speak)

(b) *-zi* occurs in many borrowed nouns, particularly recent borrowings from Zulu-Swazi, English and Afrikaans.³

haa-li-tafula-zi (It is a table ; cf. Zulu *itafula*)
haa-li-hlanu-zi (It is Friday ; cf. Zulu *-hlanu* "five")

(c) Some nouns which are neither loan-words nor, apparently, substantives of verbal origin, incorporate *-zi* as a suffix.

haa-/khe-zi (It is salt)
haa-txob²e-zi (It is mud)
ipatha²azi <*iy-ya-tha²a-zi* (I am a handsome young man)

In comparisons such as those given below, some idea of the grammatical concept associated with this suffix can be gained.

○ηoo-zi (tree), cf. *○ηoo* (wood) and *○ηoo-η* (forest)
cha-zi (breast), cf. *cha-η⁴* (milk)

69. *The Borrowed Prefixes li- and ma-*

These prefixes are noun class prefixes presu-

Sotho, which are probably older acquisitions, see L. W. Lanham and D. P. Hallows, *op. cit.*

⁴ The quantitative suffix *-η*.

mably taken from Zulu-Swazi, in view of the fact that they nearly always occur in nouns borrowed from that source (and quite often in loan-words from English and Afrikaans).¹ These prefixes occur in borrowed nouns irrespective of the class to which the noun belongs in Zulu-Swazi.

li-sonto-zi (Sunday), cf. Zulu *isonto*

li-khasi-zi (leaf), cf. Swazi *likhasi*

70. Compound Nouns

Although not a common type of grammatical process, the compounding of roots to form a single noun is often encountered with the following forms :

- (a) \bigcirc *ari*² used in diminutive formation from nouns, e.g.

noni \bigcirc *ari* (small buck), cf. *noni* (buck)

klhwiŋ \bigcirc *ari* (small dog), cf. *klhwiŋ* (dog)

- (b) *kl'e* (the plural of *kwii*) is sometimes used to signify plural number in nouns indicating human beings, e.g.

/kvoŋkl'e (Europeans), cf. */k oŋ* (European)

- (c) *kl'oo* and *q'iy* may be used to signify male and female gender,³ e.g.

kwikl'oo (man), cf. *kwii* (person)

kwiiq'iy (woman)

firiql'oo (male buck), cf. *firi* (buck - type unidentified)

!kholoq'iy (mare), cf. *!kholo* (generic term for horse)

- (d) Note that the following compound nouns are composed of three roots :

*kl'egwikl'oo*⁴ (Bushman)

kl'egwiq'iy (Bushwoman)

71. Miscellaneous Observations on the Morphology of Nouns

¹ The fact that they do not occur in borrowings from Sotho excludes the latter as a possible origin.

² (i) Outside of compound nouns, \bigcirc *ari* behaves as a substantive, e.g. *haa-ŋ- \bigcirc ari* (It is my child, lit. little one.)

(ii) *kl'ini*, a verb indicating "be small", used in a relative clause, is a common alternative.

³ Alternatively, but more rarely, *q'iy* may appear in a relative clause construction, e.g. in the alternative

There are indications of a wider system of suffixal inflexion in earlier times. For example, the comparisons given below show that the final syllables *gu*, *la* and *na* may well have been separate morphemes.

ts'agu (eye), cf. *ts'ay* (eyes)

eja²agu (on top, above), cf. *ja²a* (sky)

/k wala (hare), cf. */k away* (hares)

kw'ana (stick), cf. *kw'ay* (sticks)

72. *gi*, a verb denoting "own, possess, have" (which is also used in the possessive construction, see § 88), occasionally intrudes on a construction in which no trace of its significance is found, e.g.

*insaae gi'iy*a (I give you a thing) ; cf. */iy*a (thing).

ŋagikl'oo (They are elephants) ; cf. *kl'oo* (elephants)

III. SUBSTANTIVES - ADVERBIAL USAGES

73. Nouns may function in the sentence in a way traditionally termed "adverbial", without necessarily undergoing any inflexion, e.g.

iy-!k'ama-e in-debe (I cut with my knife)

in-t'ubi in-t'u (I taste with my mouth)

Note, however, the following inflexional elements :

- (a) *khe*- which is used to indicate "to" and "from" (usually with an implication of movement) e.g.

khe-kwii (to or from the person)

form of the example quoted, *kwii ?ela q'iy* (lit. : person who is a woman). This is indicative of the verbal nature of *q'iy*. There is no evidence of the verbal character of *kl'oo*.

⁴ The root *kl'e*, which obviously denotes "Bush" in this compound word, appears to be identical with *kl'e* which is the plural equivalent of *kwii* (person). *gui* is the form in which *kwii* (person) appears in this compound word.

- khe-ne*¹ (to or from me)
*khe-we*¹ (to or from you – plural)
- (b) *e-* is believed to be the locative adverbial prefix of Zulu-Swazi, which Bushman now uses extensively. It signifies “in, at, on”, usually with an implication of “at rest”.
e-t'ama (at Lake Chrissie)
e-//gaa (at night)
e-thugu gi-iy²e (at my side)
e-²a-//yu (in your nose)
e-ja²agu gi-'gu'ya (on top of the mountain)
e-ja²agu gi-η-xu (on my face)
- (c) *//ya-* denoting “and” or “with” is prefixed to substantives, e.g. *//ya-ae*¹ (with you)
//ya-ne (with me)
han-t'a²an-e //ya-klhwiη (He goes with the dog)

IV. SUBSTANTIVES-VERBAL USAGES²

74. Eastern Bushman possesses no equivalent of the verb “to be” and forms which are basically substantival may be made to function predicatively by using certain of the inflexional and clitical elements associated with the verb. There is in only one case a unique constituent in these constructions (see § 75). The verbal formatives which are used include the prefixes *ya-* (§ 77), *ge-* (§ 78), *za-* (§ 80) and *²a-* (§ 81). In addition, the subjectival pronominal proclitics are essential in any predicative³ of substantival origin. None of the verbal suffixes listed in §§ 83, 84 can be used in predicatives of this type. The conjugation of predicatives derived from substantives therefore parallels closely the conjugation of true verbs, but the following points should be noted :

- (a) The formative *ya-*, whose use is comparatively infrequent in the conjugation of true verbs, is always used in positive forms. It is omitted in negative forms, however, and no examples of the sequence *ya-²a-* have been found.

- (b) The form of the 3rd person, singular, subjectival pronominal proclitic is always *ha-* and in combination with *ya-* nearly always produces the contracted form *haa-*.⁴ (The full form *haya-* is acceptable but seldom heard, i.e. *hayadebe* or *haadebe* (It is a knife)).
- (c) The subjectival pronominal proclitics referring to the 1st person singular, 2nd person singular and plural and the 3rd person plural, in combination with *ya-*, appear in the forms given below in which the regular assimilation of the nasal consonant and the *y* of *ya-* is illustrated.
- | | |
|--------------------------|---|
| 1st person, singular | <i>iy-ya-</i> > <i>ina-</i> |
| 2nd " " | <i>ay-ya-</i> > <i>ana-</i> |
| 2nd " Plural | <i>uη-ya-</i> > <i>uηa-</i> |
| 3rd " " | <i>hiη-ya-</i> > <i>hiηa-</i> or
<i>η-ya-</i> > <i>ηa-</i> |

- (d) The 3rd person plural subjectival pronominal proclitic *hiη-* or *η-* is used in predicatives based on plural nouns or nouns indicating quantity. This produces the common prefixal element *ηa-* which has been seen in many examples. (Note that *η* is syllabic.)
ηants'ay (They are my eyes), cf. *haants'agu* (It is my eye)
ηafaa (It is water)
ηatolon (They are beads)
- (e) In forms of the simple present tense, negative, a syllable *²a* of unknown origin sometimes intrudes on the construction, e.g.
ha-²a-²a-kw'ana (It is not a stick)
 Here *ha-* is the pronominal proclitic and one or other *²a* the negative formative.

Miscellaneous examples :

ηa-kl'e-gwii (They are Bush people)
²unēē gi-iy²e haa-○aa (My food is meat)
hiηa khee (< *hiη-ya- khee*) or *ηa- khee* (It is grass)

¹ The forms *-ne*, *-we* and *-ae* are the objectival pronominal enclitics.

² This sub-section is best examined after a study of the verb.

³ The term “predicative” is applied to any word which supplies the predicate in a sentence, whether it be verbal or substantival by origin.

⁴ In most cases the presence of *haa-* serves to

distinguish a predicative of substantival origin from a truly verbal one, in that the latter usually combines with a subjectival pronominal proclitic incorporating a nasal consonant (e.g. *han-*, etc.), although this is not invariable. In combination with the fact that predicatives of substantival origin do not incorporate the verbal suffixes, predicative forms provide a good guide to the classification into “verbs” and “substantives”.

in²e inafaa (<*in-ya-faa*) (I am handsome ;
lit. : I am water)
haa-²u²e (It is you - plural)
haa-²e (It is I)
²i²e i-ya-kl'oy (We are children)
²a-²a-²a-kwii ²a²e (Are you not a person ?)
ha-²a-²e (It is not I)
²y-²a-kl'e hiy²ena (Those are not Bush people)
in²e in-²a-²a-²/kxoy (I am not a European)
ha-ge-²a-kwii (He was not a person)
in-ze-²a-!kxa²ay (I will not be a chief)

75. As an alternative to the forms given above for the simple present tense, positive, with 3rd person reference (e.g. *haaphole* "It is tobacco"), a form with a prefix *dzi-* has been recorded on several occasions. This prefix either replaces the normal subjectival pronominal proclitic or stands before it, e.g.

dzi-ya-phole (It is tobacco)
dzi-haa-t'u (It is a mouth)
*dzi-ya-²e*¹ (It is they)

V. VERBS

76. Verbs supply the predicative element in most sentences and, although a verbal root standing alone may function in this way, a verb very frequently incorporates a suffix and quite often a prefix. In addition, a subjectival pronominal proclitic is commonly used. All verbal roots are consonant-commencing and the majority of them are disyllabic in structure.

There are no "moods" in Bushman and the range of tenses is very restricted. Certain time concepts are associated with the verb prefixes given below, but they are in most cases ill-defined and the presence of one or other of these prefixes in a verb is often optional. In this respect, a good deal of reliance is placed on time adverbs when associating an action with a particular point in time.

The semantic content of many verbal roots

is conventional, but it should be noted that many "adjectival" concepts are conveyed by verbs.

77. Verbal Prefixes

ya- is found in verb forms with a simple present tense significance, or, more rarely, in a form which is translated by the perfect tense in Zulu-Swazi.² Observe that *ya-* is seldom used in verbs but commonly in predicatives derived from substantives. There is also a rare alternative form *ye-*.

²a²e a-ye-!waa (You are alone : lit. : You are one)
hiy-kl'e ya-²ya-ne ²y!kxaa (The people saw me yesterday)

Notice how *ya-* is omitted in the following :

in-²uu-wa-²y aa (I take meat)
ha²y-||kxee (He is big)

78. *ge-* denotes past time and is often used in translating the remote past tense of Zulu-Swazi. The use of *ge-* is more regular than *ya-*, but it is by no means an essential component in a verb which, from the context, can be seen to refer to action in past time. A variant form *ga-* has been noted.

ha-ge-kl'ini (He used to be small)
in-ge-²a ³y!kxaa (I was present yesterday)
²y-ge-²a-²/²ya ³a²e (They did not see you)

79. *so-* has the same significance as that of the progressive implication in the neighbouring Bantu languages and is possibly a borrowing (cf. the prefix *sa-* of the progressive implication in Zulu). Its significance is close to that of "still" in English.

in-so-²a (I am still present)
in-so-²kxee-we (I am still working)

80. *za-* denotes future time and is probably borrowed from Zulu-Swazi.⁴ A variant form *ze-* has been recorded.

are best explained in terms of the local dialect of Zulu-Swazi.

³ A difference in tone distinguishes ²a of negative significance from ²a indicating presence or existence.

⁴ The verb *-za* (come) is widely used in the formation of the future tense in Nguni languages.

¹ In that *²e* may refer to either "I" or "they", the use of *dzi-* avoids possible confusion because of its association with 3rd person forms only. Thus *haay²e* means only "It is I".

² Zulu provided the medium of communication with our informants and some semantic distinctions

ha-za-t'a²an (He will go)

a-za-|kxee ndlobe (You will speak tomorrow)

81. ²*a-* denotes the negative in all predicatives and may accompany (and succeed in order) the prefixes indicated in § 77, 78, 80. (No examples of it in combination with *so-* have been recorded.)

ha-²a-suy-we (He does not smoke)

²a-²a-tu'bi ²a-²e (Do you not hear)

hiy-kl'e ya-²a-kl'euy-we gi-!kxwa-η (The people do not hit cattle)

in-za-²a-kl'euy a²e (I will not hit you)

82. A verbal prefix *di-* was recorded in the speech of one group of informants only, e.g.

han-di-|kxexo (He is big)

83. Verbal Suffixes

Verbs usually, but not invariably, incorporate one of the suffixes given below. (Note that there are some common verbal roots which never appear with any of these suffixes, e.g. *²a* (indicating presence or existence), *kx'eī* (drink).)

(a) *-e*

(b) *-wa* or *-we*¹

(c) *-ya* or *ye*¹

No definite significance can be attributed to these suffixes, and although (a), (b) and (c) each have associations with particular verb roots, it is impossible to formulate inviolable rules regarding their appearance and the statements made in the following sub-paragraphs should be regarded as generalizations. It can be said, however, that the occurrence of these suffixes is far more regular than that of the verbal prefixes.

A very limited correlation between these suffixes and various conjugational forms can be detected. *-wa* and *-ya* usually occur in imperatives and *-we* and *-ye* in most other forms, although instances of the alternances, *-we/-wa*, *-ye/-ya*, have been noted in a single conjugational form. The suffixes given in (b) and (c) are seldom found in combination with the future tense formative *za-*.

- (a) Many verb roots ending in *a* suffix *-e*, usually

¹ The possibility of *w* and *y* being intervocalic glides has been considered and rejected.

as an additive, but sometimes as a replative morpheme. This suffix is frequently used with borrowed verb stems from Zulu-Swazi.

iy-Ga²a-e (I await)

*in-za-s²e*² (I will give)

im-bala-e (I write), cf. Zulu *-bala* (write)

iy-gula-e (I am ill), cf. Zulu *-gula* (be ill)

in-thand-e (I like), cf. Zulu *-thanda* (like)

- (b) A second group of verbal roots (ending in vowels other than *a*) take *-wa* or *-we* as a suffix.

²o²o-wa (Pull !)

ay-²o²o-we (You pull)

pho-wa (Loosen !)

im-pho-we (I loosen)

iy-chele-wa (I am happy)

ay-|o-we thii (What do you shoot ?)

- (c) A third group of verb stems (ending in vowels other than *a*) take *-ya* or *-ye* as suffix.

|kxee-ya ²a²e (Speak !)

iy-limi-ye (I want)

in-tsii-ya (I know)

|e-ya (Enter !)

Note the following examples of compound suffixes :

*iy-²uu-we-ya*² (I take)

s-e-ya (Come !)

84. The suffix *-sa* is of a different order to those listed in the preceding paragraph and bears the definite significance of "cause to do". It is most probably the borrowed form of the Zulu-Swazi causative suffix *-isa*.

ay-|kxa²a-sa (You annoy), cf. *iy-|kxa²a* (I am angry)

haa-sw²ee ||ηa||umi η-ge-phig-sa i||kxay (The wind and the sun were arguing with one another)

85. The Imperative

- (a) The verb in its simple root form may express the positive imperative, although roots which

² The root is *sa*.

³ The root is *²uu*.

make common use of the suffixes *-wa* and *-ya* usually incorporate these suffixes in the imperative. (Other verbal suffixes of the same order seldom appear.)

The imperative is frequently accompanied by the self-standing pronoun of 2nd person reference, singular or plural. This pronoun may follow the verb, in which case it often develops a very close association with it (see examples below).

thoba ²*a*²*e* (Look !)

²*a*²*e* *!k e-ya* ²*unēē* (Cook food !)

²*o*²*owaa*²*e* (< ²*o*²*o-wa* + *a*²*e*) (Pull !)

*khwaa*²*e* (< *khwa* + *a*²*e*) (Return !)

- (b) An alternative construction, which is commonly used for expressing negative commands (few examples of positive commands expressed in this way have been recorded) consists of the verb preceded by *ame* or *ume*, with singular and plural reference respectively. These forms apparently comprise a pronominal proclitic in combination with *me*. The verb itself incorporates the negative formative ²*a*.

Examples of positive imperatives :

a-me *kveu aya* ¹ (Work well !)

u-me *thoba* ¹ (Look ye !)

Examples of negative imperatives :

a-me ²*a-!oli t'a*²*an* (Do not hurry ; lit. : Do not hasten go)

C. NOTES ON SYNTACTICAL CONSTRUCTION

88. The Possessive

Possession is indicated in one of two ways, these being, in many cases, optional alternatives, with (a) the commoner of the two.

- (a) By the mere juxtaposing of the noun indicating the possessor with that indicating the thing possessed in this order, e.g.

¹ This construction is often contracted. These examples, for instance, may be heard as :

am/kveu aya (Work well !)

am/thoba (Look ye !)

am²akv'eī saa (Do not drink water).

² For instance, a number of the forms referred to here make use of the verbal suffixes given in § 83 which

a-me ²*a-kv'eī saa* ¹ (Do not drink water)

u-me ²*a-kl'euy-wa !k wa* ²*ena* (Do not (ye) hit this head of cattle)

86. Verbal Roots with Unusual Significances

Because of their grammatical behaviour, it is necessary to classify as verbs, certain forms whose significances are seldom expressed by verbs. Thus many "adjectival" concepts and the numerals are conveyed by the predicative in a relative clause (see § 89 for details on this construction and examples of the use of the forms given below). The following are common examples

!hāa (be long) *kl'ini* (be small)

!kwa (be bad) *saa* (be white) ³

djwaa or *djwāā* (be black) *!e* (be red)

!kxee ¹ (be big or old) *swū* (be fat)

gwana (be three) *k'uu* or *c'uu* (be two)

!waa (be one or alone) *k'uuy* or *c'uuy* (be four)

Observe how the numerals when used to indicate the days of the week, mostly incorporate the nominalizing suffix *-zi* ∞ *-ziy*.

hāa-ts'i-gi-gwana ⁵ (It is Wednesday)

hāa-ts'i-gi-c'uu-ziy (It is Tuesday)

hāa-ts'i-gi-c'uuy-zī (It is Thursday)

87. Compound Verbs

One example of the compounding of verbal roots has been found :

foGa²ane < *fo* (sit) - *Ga²a* (wait) - *ne* (me)
(Sit and wait for me)

!k wa *gii* (cow's horn)

ij-!imi-ye qhuqhu klw'ii (I want a fowl's egg)

ja-kl'e tuy (It is human skin)

hāa-kwi-!ij cha-zi (It is a woman's breast)

This type of construction may include a pronominal reference to the possessor in the

are associated only with verbal roots, e.g. *!e* (be red) in *c'eo* ²*ela !e-ya* (red stone).

³ As a noun this means "water".

⁴ Also heard as *kvevo*.

⁵ *ts'i* is an unidentified component in this construction.

form of a pronominal possessive proclitic. In this case the construction produces one word unit.

haa-²a-u (It is your or his face)

u-/ya-ŋ (your heads)

na-n-ts'a-ŋ /khū (They are my eyebrows ;
lit. : my eyes hair)

(b) A second type of possessive construction makes use of the verbal root *gi* (have, possess, own)¹ as a linking element. The order which this construction follows is usually "thing possessed - *gi* - possessor". In the possessive construction *gi* forms one word unit with the substantive which follows and is treated as a clitic.

na-klhumŋ gi-|k.ŋ (They are dogs of the European)

haa-li-dliza-xi gi towa (Whose grave is it ;
lit. : grave of whom ?)

inafaa (< *in-ya-faa gi-t'ama* (I am handsome : lit. : I am the water of Lake Chris-

Note that where the possessor is indicated pronominally, further alternatives in the form of construction (b) are possible. In some of these it will be noticed that the normal order of the construction may be reversed.

haa-!ŋaŋ gi-ae² (It is your letter)

haa klo gi-i?²e (It is our bag)

na-ŋ-gi-||khi-ŋ (They are my teeth)

na-ŋ-ge-!ū?³u (They are my intestines)

39. The Relative Clause Construction

This construction consists of the demonstrative *?ena*, *?ela*, *?eta*, as an introductory element, followed by the verb without any accompanying subjectival pronominal proclitic. Any of the verbal prefixes described in §§ 77-81 can, however, be used.

haa-||umi ?ena gi maki'u (It is the sun which is strong)

¹ Observe the use of *gi* as a verb : *u-gi cha-ŋ* (You have milk).

² Following *gi* either the self-standing pronouns or the objectival pronominal enclitics are found.

³ *ge*, which occasionally appears in constructions

na-kl'e ?ena gwana (It is three people)

haa-!kxwa ?ena !waa (It is one head of cattle)

na-kl'e ?ena c'uu (It is two people)

haa-kwii ?ela /aa (It is a corpse ; lit. : a person who is dead)

haa-|kxoŋ ?ela kx'eī faa (It is the European who drinks water)

haa-kwii ?ela kl'ini (It is a small person)

haa-c'eo ?ela faa (It is a white stone)

haa-kwii ?ela ?u-|ŋi (It is a blind person ;
lit. : who does not see)

In normal quick speech the demonstrative is often reduced to *?e*, e.g.

na-faa ?e q'iy (It is much water)

haa-gi-||ŋa ?e !e-ya (It is a red thing)

na-kw'a-ŋ ?e c'uu (It is two sticks)

haa-to ?e txoma-e e-c'e'e (Who blew his nose here ? lit. : It is who who blew his nose here ?)

90. The Simple Sentence

The short simple sentence is the favoured type in Bushman. The typical word order for statements and questions is Subject - Predicate - Object, with extensions of the subject and object following immediately upon the substantives qualified, and extensions of the predicate usually following the predicative, although "time adverbs" may occur in sentence-initial position. In addition to the subjectival pronominal proclitic, there may be one or more pronominal references to the subject and these pronouns may be found in sentence-initial or sentence-final position or both.

The subjectival pronominal proclitic is linked with the predicative when the subject is unexpressed, and usually (but not invariably) with the substantive indicating the subject when the latter is expressed in the sentence.⁴ Examples given below indicate that it may be found in both the subject and the predicate.

Example of simple sentences :

of this type, is regarded as a variant form of *gi*.

⁴ When the predicative is based on a substantive, the subjectival pronominal proclitic must appear in it.

ndlobe hiŋ-kl'e xa-²a-kl'eun-we gi-!kxwa-ŋ
 (Tomorrow the people will not hit the cattle)
²*a²e a-xu n-t'ec'e-wa ²a²e* (How is your face?)
ha-²ela debe ŋ-!khii (That knife is sharp)
^ŋ*ena hiŋ-kloy ŋ-qwele* (Those children are playing)
han-swii ts'ee ^ŋuyey (He is very fat now)
ha-ga²a han-cheun-we or *ga²a n-cheun-we*
 (It is raining ; The sky is raining)
ha-ŋ/ee ya-djopi (My name is Jopi)
^ŋ*kl'e ŋ-²a* (The people are present)
²*unēē gi-iŋ²e haa-○aa* (My food is meat)

91. The Complex Sentence

Subordinate clauses (of which there are seldom more than one in a sentence) are usually introduced by conjunctions which are loan-words from Zulu-Swazi.

in-txusi-ŋ goda¹ iŋ-!imi-ye t'a²a-zin
 (I am ill but I want to go)
^{han-ŋ/ŋi-ne guthi² in-lug-wa} (lit. : He sees me that I am good)

iŋ-²a goba³ iŋ-!imi-ye ²unēē (I am here because I want food)

92. The Compound Sentence

Consecutive actions are expressed in a series of principal clauses in paratactical combination, e.g.

in-za-sa ndlobe, iŋ-²uu ○aa, iŋ-q'obi-ŋ e-||ŋi
 (I will come tomorrow and take the meat and return home)

93. Interrogative Constructions

The following interrogative words are found:
thii (what ?)
tee (where ?)
kentwa (when ?)
towa (who ? - singular), *twa-ŋ* (who ? - plural)
ntu (by means of what ?)

Examples :

an-thob-e thii (What are you looking at ?)
^{an-ŋ-!kxee-we tee a²e} (Where do you work ?)
^{a-za-ta²an kentwa} (When will you go ?)
^{an-ŋ/ŋa towa a²e} (Whom do you see ?)
^{am-bala-e ntu} (With what do you write ?)

¹ Cf. Zulu *kodwa* (but).

² Cf. Zulu *ukuthi* (that).

³ Cf. Zulu *ngoba* (because).

THE UMUNDRI TRADITION OF ORIGIN

M. D. W. JEFFREYS *

SYNOPSIS

The Umundri are an Ibo group living in the Onitsha Province, Southern Nigeria. Their tradition of origin states that a man, Eri, and his wife came to earth from the sky. Except for the anthill on which they alighted the earth was a morass. An Awka blacksmith with his equipment was sent to dry up the earth. During Eri's lifetime his people were fed from the sky. When he died this food ceased. Chuku, the skygod, told Ndri, Eri's eldest son, to kill and bury his son and daughter. From their graves sprouted the yam and the kokoyam respectively. Upon eating this food Ndri and his people slept for the first time, because till then the sun did not set. The four days of the week then were given the names of skybeings. Ndri became the first king and his coronation ritual is still followed. Titles and ranking ensued and the carving of the sun-cult symbols on the faces of this group. Food was then distributed to all mankind. Similar traditions are found elsewhere, pointing to a common source for them all somewhere in the east.

In 1930 the Nigerian Government commissioned me to investigate the magico-religious beliefs of the Ibo in the environs of Awka, the headquarters of the Awka Division in the Onitsha Province. Near Awka was Aguku, the centre of the cult of the divine Umundri king and thus I was able to obtain my information from the *fons et origo* of this cult.

The origin of the Umundri group is foreshadowed in their tradition. As narrated more or less verbatim, many of the points in this legendary history can be confirmed, or corroborated, from other narratives. The information was obtained from the source, from those whose duty it was to know about such matters, and not from "the man in the street".

So essential is it to go to the source for accurate information, that a few remarks upon this aspect

of obtaining anthropological information is necessary.

In many books, written about the customs and practices of nations and peoples of Africa and elsewhere, it is found that information has been obtained from the "average citizen", "the man in the street", from any native, provided he could not speak English. Yet a moment's thought shows, that if "the average man in the street", in London, were asked, e.g. what he knew of "The Thirty Nine Articles", practically no reliable or accurate information would be obtained. If "the average man in the street", had his wits about him, he would suggest that the inquirer asked a clergyman, or better still the Archbishop of Canterbury. It is not "the man in the street's" duty to know about such matters, he realizes that there are officials whose duty it is to know these

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things. In the same way, the native also realizes this truth and will say so, yet many investigators do not take the trouble to find out those whose duties it is to possess such knowledge. Thus, among the Yoruba, there are the Arokins or tribal historians, whose duty it is to keep tell of Yoruba history and traditions.

The necessity for asking those whose business it is to know the subject on which information is sought, and not the first native that is met, is clearly shown in the following extract, where a boy from Bonny is being asked what happened to him after death, replies:

"Aneméa, how should I know. I be poor boy. 'Go ask gentleman'. I thought I would ask a gentleman or chief, who coolly replied that the Ju-ju man (priest) knew everything and that he was not a Ju-ju man, a fact he knew I was well acquainted with."¹

This same truth, that only specialized persons are in possession of the religious and cultural wisdom of a tribe, is exhibited in the following extract: "Whenever the (Indian) villagers are questioned about their creed, says Sir William Hunter, the same answer is invariably given. The common people have no idea of religion but to do right (ceremonially) and to worship the village God."²

Dr. Meek makes practically the same observation. "I do not pretend to have any profound acquaintance with Jukun religion, for there is no subject on which the Jukun, who are always a reticent people, are more pledged to silence than that of their religion in general, and the religious position of the king in particular. Moreover, the full ritual surrounding the person of the king is not merely a secret from all strangers but is unknown to most Jukun themselves."³

Dr. Farrow writes of the Yoruba to the same effect. "The higher knowledge of the Supreme Being seems to be restricted to, and jealously guarded by, the few."⁴ There is a Yoruba proverb which neatly sums up the whole matter.

"No one should ask the fish what is done in the farm, nor should the rat be asked what takes place in the water."⁵

It may seem odd that so much stress should be laid upon so simple a matter, yet how necessary this caution becomes, may be seen, when it is realized that one of the claims to an efficient report on a tribe or group of people, is a remark to the effect that every town has been visited.

This fact, that tribal knowledge was not widely disseminated, became apparent when investigating the details of the Umundri religion. In Aguku the priestly family, Adama and the royal families from which the divine king came, had all supplied information readily. A visit was then paid to Aguleri, an Umundri town, some forty miles away, and said to be the place where Chuku sent down Eri, the human founder of the Umundri. When the elders of this town were asked questions about their religion, the reply that was given was: "You must ask the people of Aguku, it is their business to know about such things—it is not ours, and we do not know. We are fisherfolk, and can tell you about fishing."

The town of Aguku consists of four wards or groups; namely, Aguku itself, where are the royal families, i.e. from among whom the divine king may be selected of the gods; Uru Ovulo, which it is agreed is but a branch of Aguku; Diodo; and Adama: the latter is a priestly family and supplies attendants to royalty.

Versions of the tradition were obtained from several elders and priests in the different wards. The Aguku version, which is the fullest, will be given first. It runs as follows:

"The name of our founder is Ndri, one of the sons of Eri and Namaku his wife. Now Eri and Namaku came from the sky, but in the start of such things the head (origin) will never be found (The informant implied that the statement that Eri came from the sky is as far back as the story they know carries them, but that they believe

¹ Smith J. *The Gulf of Guinea*, p. 26. London 1851.

² Allan G. *The Evolution of the Idea of God*, p. 23. London 1932.

³ Meek C. K. *A Sudanese Kingdom* p. 120. London 1931.

⁴ Farrow S. S. *Faith, Fancies and Fetish*, p. 31. London 1926.

⁵ Tucker Miss. *Abbeokuta or Sunrise within the Tropics*, p. 278. London 1856.

there is more to tell, only it has now been forgotten.)

"Eri and Namaku were sent down by Chuku, a sky-god. They had the following children in the order of seniority as given herewith.

Ndri
Aguleri
Agbariam or Onugu
Amanuke or Olin Odudu

"Eri had another wife, and from her came Idah. (Now an Ig'illa town on the right bank of the Niger.) He was the only child of his mother, and when Eri died she, fearing lest his four half-brothers by the wife, Namaku, would destroy him, advised him to separate from them and make a place for himself. She made magic with a round stone which she placed on Idah's head, and sent him across the Niger and told him to walk with the stone on his head and not to touch it with his hands. He was to settle where the stone fell. He did so and that is how the town of Idah started.¹ Idah is the head of all the towns round about, and they are known as Igala towns.

"Onojo Obori was the eldest son of Idah. He was born where Idah now is. This man was a

giant and a great warrior.² He uprooted a cotton-tree with his hands, and stuck it upside down in the ground.³ Aguleri, the second son of Eri, remained in the home settlement. (This action of the second son is against the practice found throughout Igbo-land. The Okpala, or eldest son, remains in his father's compound and inherits it and the family Obu or lodgehouse.) Ndri, Omegu and part of Amanuke left Aguleri and founded their own settlements. Ndri went to Afondri, now deserted. He did not like the place, so he moved on after a short while to a site near the present town of Enugu, but after the assassination by the Enugu of an *eze* Ndri the town was moved to its present site.⁴ Part of Olin Odudu accompanied Ndri, and their descendants now form the Diodo group. At the time of Ndri's arrival in this part of the world, there were no other towns in the immediate vicinity, nothing but open country, and so the settlement was called Aguku, meaning, the great field.

Agu = open-plain; prairie, veld.

Uku = great, large, big.⁵

"These other towns that came and settled around us are not colonies of Ndri but subjects of

¹ Frobenius L. *The Voice of Africa*. Vol. II. pp. 542-543. London 1913. —

This account of Idah founding his town around a stone has a parallel in the legend told of Kisra in the vicinity of Bida. An Allendjenu (Djinn) called Shrandeli Dan Sherbo lived in a stone. King Kisra was constantly being defeated in battle. He decided to build his city round about this stone. "There upon the city of Kisra was builded round about that stone. Three months afterwards Anabi Nuhu (his enemy) came again and fought against King Kisra. Yet King Kisra and his fighting men were once more vanquished by Anabi Nuhu. Then Kisra, the King, went to the stone and spoke these words: 'O stone! we have built our city here. I beseech thee! I beseech thee! I beseech thee! Let it not come to pass that Anabi Nuhu again obtain victory! Now Allendjenu Shrandeli was in that stone.' It was arranged that a sacrifice demanded by Shrandeli should be made by King Kisra.

"Kisra the king made sacrifice on the stone: red cock, red he-goat, red bull, red stallion, red man, red robe and red cloth. Kisra poured the victims' blood over the stone. He bound the cloth round the stone. Then he built a house over it." (After that he was victorious. M. J.)

² Burton R. *Abeokuta and the Cameroons Mountains* Vol. 1. p. 192. London 1863. —

The Yoruba have a tradition of a warlike giant. "The people (of Abeokuta) have a tradition that in the olden time a six-fingered giant dwelt at the Egba town of Igbehi. When summoned to swear by Oriskako,

at Irawo (a town in Western Yoruba) he waxed wroth, slew the priests, and carried off ten of the sacred (iron) bars, for which reason no native of Igbehi is allowed to enter Irawo."

³ Meek C. K. *A Sudanese Kingdom*. p. 47. London 1931. (See also page 19.) — This legendary account of a son of an Idah king uprooting trees and planting them upside down has a Jukun parallel. Ajiku, a Jukun's eldest son went off hunting against the wishes of his father. While Ajiku was away the old king handed over the royal insignia to his younger sons and then died. On Ajiku's return from the hunt he endeavoured to regain the royal insignia and pursued after his younger brothers. "Ajiku continued the pursuit, but the dung of his brothers' horses turned into a marsh and their water into a river, so that Ajiku was compelled to give up the chase, having finally thrown at the fugitives a shea-tree which landed on the ground upside down and is to be seen growing in that position to-day."

⁴ As Eri had been succeeded by numerous *eze* Ndri before the move of the town after the assassination of an *eze* Ndri, the narrator has been nodding a little in his account.

⁵ Thomas N. W. *Report—Ibo Speaking Peoples*. Part I. p. 55. London 1913. — When these investigations were made it was assumed that Aguku meant "Big Leopard" as it is customary in many places so to address priest-chiefs and as Northcote Thomas expressly says it does so mean. It came as a surprise to be told by the elders of Aguku that the name had no connection with "leopard" but that the town

Ndri.¹ They were not in the beginning of Umundri stock. However part of Enugu (Awka) and Akampesi say all this great field is theirs.²

"All the first things happened at Aguleri. There the land was made dry and food given to the world. Ndri and the rest of Eri's children were born there. Ndri is the ancestor of the present family of Odanulu in Aguleri; and the site of Ndri's old Obu (lodge or reception house) is still indicated by that family. The *eze* Ndri from Aguku when he arrives in Aguleri to get the *Odudu* (sacred lump of clay) makes a sacrifice at Obuga in the *umunna* of Eziagulu Obuga.

"The Umundri started thus-wise at Aguleri. Eri and Namaku were sent down by Chuku from the sky but not Ndri his son.³ When Eri came down from the sky he had to stand on an antheap as all the land was then a morass. He complained bitterly to Chuku, who thereupon sent him an Awka man with bellows, charcoal and fire to dry up the land and he did so.⁴

"While Eri was alive he and his dependants were fed by Chuku and their food was *azu igwe* (back of the sky: sky-substance).⁵ Those who ate it never slept. When Eri died this food supply ceased and Ndri at Aguleri complained to Chuku that there was no food. Chuku replied that if Ndri did as he was told he could obtain food.

was so called because of the large open (i.e. treeless) stretch of country round about the present town. It appears that this word supplies a good instance of the meaning varying not with the sound but with the tone, thus Ago = reincarnation. Ago = farm. Ago = leopard. Ago = hunger. Ago = kite. Agu = mesh. Agu = desire. Agu = garden. Agu = Mischievous sprite (a). With such a variety of meanings to select from it seemed advisable to accept the statement of the elders of Aguku that the word meant, large, open farm-land.

(a) The Ibo-Speaking Peoples. p. vars. Part II. London 1913.

¹ Johnson O. *The History of the Yorubas*. p. 17. London 1921. — The Yoruba have the same story concerning the Egba community. "All the principal families of the Egbas trace their origin from Oyo (the royal city), hence the common saying 'Egbas who have not their root in Oyo are slaves', i.e. belong to the conquered aboriginal population."

² There was a land dispute on at the time in which these parties were involved and it was necessary to head off my informant from this topic.

³ Burton R. *Abeokuta and the Cameroon Mountains*. Vol. I. p. 186. London 1863. — Cfr. The Yoruba

Ndri asked what it was he had to do, and Chuku told him that he was to kill and bury his eldest son and daughter. Ndri said that this command was too hard a thing for him to do, and he would not do it. So Chuku mentioned the name of Dioka to Ndri. Now Dioka is the eponymous founder of the guild that cuts the *ichi* facial cicatrization marks for all titled men. His descendants continue the art to-day and are represented by the town of Umudioka near Orieri.⁶ Chuku said he would send from the sky, Dioka to carve the *ichi* marks on the faces of these two children. Then Ndri was to cut their throats and to bury their bodies in separate graves.⁷

"This killing of the eldest son and daughter was carried out, and the bodies buried in separate graves. Three native weeks later, shoots appeared out of the graves of these children. From the grave of his son, Ndri dug up a yam, cooked and ate it and found it so pleasing and satisfying that he fell into so deep a sleep that his family thought him to be dead. When he awoke and rubbed his eyes his family were astonished and remarked that they thought he had died. He explained to them what he had done, and they also ate of the yam, liked it, and also fell asleep.

"The next day Ndri dug up *koko* yams from his daughter's grave, ate them and likewise slept again. For this reason the yam is called the son of Ndri.

legend of a sky origin for their people. Burton speaking of Abeokuta writes: "Obatala created the first man, Okikiski — so called from Okiki, fame, or Obalofu, the lord of speech, equivalent to the Adam of the Hebrews; and the first woman was his wife Iye, or life, from 'ye' to live; in sound and idea curiously resembling Hawwa or Eve. They came from Heaven, an idea also found in the book of Genesis."

⁴ Thomas N. W. *Report-Ibo Speaking Peoples*. Part 1. p. 138. London 1913. — "Cuku first made an antheap and sent the Ezenri to sit on it; then he took Oton, ofo and alo, and put them on the antheap: when the king sat on the antheap there was no dry ground, so Chuku sent a blacksmith who blew his bellows and made the ground strong."

⁵ Cfr. Ife gbalu azu igwe, which means "light at back of sky".

⁶ Basden G. T. *Among the Ibos of Nigeria*. p. 79. London 1921. — "The men of Umu-di-Awka journey from place to place practising the art of cicatrization, they being recognized experts in the cutting of *ichi* or tribal marks."

⁷ Ivor-Evans A. N. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* Vol. XLIII, 1913, p. 478. — There are instances throughout the world of the slaying,

and the *koko* yam the daughter of Ndri.¹ When a man takes up a post of *eze* Ndri he does not have to kill his first born son and daughter, though both are still marked with *ichi* marks in remembrance of this time. This killing of the children was done only once by the first *eze* Ndri who thereby brought food amongst men.²

At Oreri, which is an Umundri town with a divine king and which seceded from Aguku, I was informed that Ndri planted the first banana and plantain.

"Ndri also had a male and female slave killed and buried and in three native weeks there sprang from the grave of the male slave an oil-palm,³ and from the grave of the female slave, a bread-fruit tree. Ndri then told Chuku about the new food supply and how he liked it. Whereupon Chuku ordered him to distribute this new food to all people, but Ndri said he could never do so, because this food was obtained by the death of his

own children.⁴ Chuku insisted that this food be given to the world, and therefore there would be no need for any other towns to kill their first-born boy and girl. As a reward for distributing food to the other towns Ndri would have the right of cleansing every town of an abomination (*nso*) or breach of tabu committed in it, of crowning the *eze* at Aguleri, and of tying on the *ngwulu* (ankle-cords) when a man took the title of *ozo*. Also he and his successors would have the privilege of making the *oguji*, or yam-medicine, each year for ensuring a plentiful supply of yams in all surrounding towns, or in towns that subjected themselves to the *eze* Ndri. For this medicine all the surrounding towns would come in and pay tribute, and Umundri people then could travel unarmed through the world and no one would attack or harm them. So Ndri distributed yams and koko-yams, and that is how the world got its food.⁵

"Thus Eri and Akaw and Dioka have all come

dismembering and burial of the parts of a human being to ensure fertility of the crops. Thus there is the instance of Halfan the Black, of Norway whose body was hacked up and parts of it buried throughout the kingdom. I know of no other instance in Africa where a first-born child of the reigning family is sacrificed to produce food. There is, however, a very similar legend from British North Borneo. In this legend Kenharangan, the chief god, and Munumundok his wife and the chief goddess, created between them the earth and the sky, the sun, moon, stars and the Dusun, (the people who tell the legend). These two beings had one son and he and his wife "killed their girl child and cut it up and from the different portions of its body grew all things good to eat: its head gave rise to the coco-nut, you can see the marks of its eyes and mouth on the coconut to this day; from its arm bones arose sugar cane; its fingers became bananas and its blood padi".

¹ Meek C. K. *A Sudanese Kingdom*, p. 129. Oxford 1931. — This identification of the food supply with the offspring of the first *eze* Ndri finds a similar expression among the Jukun where each divine king is actually identified with the crops. "He is identified with the crops and is addressed as Azaiwo (our Guinea-corn), Afyewo (our Ground-nuts) or Asoiwo (our Beans) just as in ancient Egypt the Pharaoh was addressed by the title of 'our Crop' and 'our Harvest'."

² Frobenius L. *The Voice of Africa*, Vol. II. p. 582. London 1913. — Another instance, where the lives of a community were saved by the sacrifice of the king's eldest son and daughter, occurs in a story told of the Nupe king, Edsuzado, when hard pressed by the forces of Osman Saki. Edsuzado had sought the help of the people of Kanshi on the Niger. The elders asked that Edsuzado's eldest son and daughter be offered up in sacrifice over a great fire. This was done. Their skins were made the tympanums of two drums, and their ashes into a magical concoction, and attached to

the drums. At the sound of these drums the whole Nupe nation rose and defeated Osman Saki's forces.

³ From the oil-palm an intoxicating wine used in worship is made.

⁴ Thomas N. W. *Report - Ibo Speaking Peoples*. Part I. p. 137. London 1913. — Thomas gives the following account of this legend: "Another myth says that no one could sleep at first, but one day a child-king went to Cuku's place for firewood. Cuku took a piece of yam and gave it to the child and when it got home it lay down and slept. Its parents thought it was dead and lamented, but when it woke it explained matters to its father; the child was sent for more yams; he brought some home and the king and his wife both ate. The king then resolved to go and fetch the yams from Cuku; Cuku then made a bargain with the king that he was to mark his son with the *ici* marks and cut off the heads of both his son and his daughter and then bury them in his garden; a male slave was also to be killed and a female slave and gardens were to be made with their heads. He was to wait twelve days and then go and look and in twelve days yams had sprung from the heads of the men and koko yams from the women; from the elder son had sprung palm and coconut and all big trees, and from the daughter corn and all plants."

(In this version the coconut and maize are mentioned as springing from the graves of the three human sacrifices. The coconut is known to have been introduced by the Portuguese, and in Igbo is called the whiteman's nut (*eku beke*). Maize under various names such as *abakpa* (Ibibio) *akpakpa* (Igbo) appears to be linked with the Jukun who are known as the Akpa in many places. Maize, like the coconut, is not indigenous to West Africa and both are late introductions. They were not mentioned when the Aguku legend of origin was narrated to me and their appearance in the account given by Northcote Thomas appears to be an innovation by the Umundri narrator. M. J.)

⁵ Thomas N. W. *Report - Ibo Speaking Peoples*

from the sky, sent down by Chuku, but it was Eri who obtained food from Chuku."

Aguleri, and then only a part of it, has but once been to Aguku for *oguji* (the yam fertility medicine) and Idah never.

When an *eze* of Idah is crowned it was stated that an Ndri man has to be there to put the crown on his head. Nnalua, Jacob, Ongwure, are Ndri men alive to-day who have done this. They were not available for cross-examination, and in view of the Atta of Adah's claim to bestow nobility upon the Igbo towns around Idah it is unlikely that to-day he dons his crown only in the presence of an Umundri man. The people of Aguku also claim that they have the right to crown the *eze* of Aguleri, and remarked that the present *eze* was not validly and properly crowned, for no Ndri man attended his coronation. Nwankbo, an Ndri man now dead and buried in Aguku, is said to have crowned Ekwue of the ward of Enugu in Aguleri as *eze*.

"Ndri was the first man to take a title and to introduce the idea of titles among us. He became *eze* Ndri, and others became *eze* *ozo*, after him, and in memory of him. The *eze* Ndri is therefore the senior titled man of all titled men. He was first to tie the *ngwulu* (ankle-cords) on the ankles of other titled men, and so to-day the right of tying *ngwulu* on to the ankles of those men who take *ozo* title belongs to the descendants of Ndri, and for this service the *ozo* man pays a fee to his Ndri sponsor. The descendants of Ndri obtained this right because their ancestor, Ndri, killed his son and daughter to get food, which was distributed to Aguleri, Igbariam, ^Amanuke and Idah."

Whether Ndri is a proper name, or a common name, or was originally a title, cannot now be ascertained. To-day it appears to be a title. An Aguku native with some education was asked his

opinion on the meaning of Ndri, and he replied: "The king at Agugku is called Ndri. He alone has the privilege of being called by this name. It is really a title of address just as in Egypt the king was called the Pharoah and in Persia, Xerxes. You may say *eze* Ndri, if you like, but Ndri is the correct title by which to address him and he alone may be thus addressed."

It should be noticed that the idea of taking title, (i.e. of going through the ennobling or coronation ceremony whereby a man loses his human status and becomes a form or representative of, or identified with, a god), was introduced by Ndri, a son of Eri. As Eri came from the sky there was no need to ennoble him, but because Ndri was earth-born the necessity for him to take title, to assume ceremonially the status of his ancestor becomes apparent. It is also important to notice that each succeeding *eze* is identified with Ndri, as *eze* in Aguku or in Orieri, in each case his title is *eze* Ndri.

The Aguku elder continued: "In the beginning, the days of the week had no names, for there was no way of counting the days because the sun was always shining and no one slept.¹ Then four strangers arrived at Aguleri with four baskets. Ndri asked Chuku where they came from. Chuku refused to say, but said he would send a person who would divulge their names and tell where they came from. A wise person (Okpeta) was sent to Ndri. Okpeta brought a rat (*oke*) with him. At night he tied a string round the rat's middle and told the rat to enter the first basket: the rat did so and made a noise therein. One of these unknown visitors (*ndi amarafafa*) shook the owner of this basket and said 'Eke Eke' and told him that something was making a noise in his basket. When Eke was about to get up to

Part I. p. 138. London 1913. — Thomas reported much the same story. "Then people planted yams and ate and all slept; all countries came to beg the king for yams but he said he could not sell, they had to bring seven fowls, a pot, chalk, and goats. The king made medicine with it and they took it to their lands and sacrificed to Evejioko; the king told them he couldn't sell but only give yams for they were his children; they on the other hand were to give yams to Nri men when they saw them; if people refuse to do this the Nri man puts down Oton and takes it away and the yams follow him; to get yams again the man must

bring fowls etc., to the king."

¹ Talbot P. A. *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria*. Vol. II. p. 194. Oxford 1926. — In this matter of there being perpetual daylight the following piece of reported magic is of legendary interest: "The Alagba priests (of the Yoruba) of the society (Egungun) are credited with the power not only of making rain fall on any particular place, but, when going on a journey in the dark, of making the sunlight follow them as long as they like. They cannot perform this latter marvel often, however, without shortening their lives."

find out the cause of the noise, Okpeta pulled the rat away. So when Eke looked in he saw nothing to cause the noise. Eke went to sleep. Okpeta noted the name, Eke, and sent the rat into another basket to make a noise therein and the next man woke up and called to the owner of the basket saying 'Oye, Oye, something is in your basket' Okpeta did as before, and so on for the other two baskets and secured the names Afo and Ngkwo. He then knew the names of the four strangers who had come. These four men founded four markets, and that is how the Igbo got their four-day week. These four strangers were sent by Chuku, and their baskets contained fish and they traded in fish."¹

At this point the story of the tradition ends and a more historical narrative continues the record. This narrative contains the names of predeceased *eze*. It is now necessary to make a few comments on this tradition for which evidence has already been adduced to suggest that it is an Igala one.

The tradition refers to Idah as being founded by a younger son of Eri and that therefore the Umundri and the Igala should be of one stock as the tradition maintains. The tradition is that an Ndri man must crown the Attah of Idah. On the other hand the story in Idah is that the Attah bestows titles on the neighbouring Igbo so that there is definitely recognized a mutual relationship if not a common Igala origin. This mutual relationship is corroborated by the fact that the Aguku legend of the giant Onojo Obori is paralleled by a similar legend told in Idah. Thus Mr. Seton in 1928 wrote: "Legends of Onojo

Obori... He is said to have been a giant in height and to have had six fingers and toes. His personal prowess was such that a whole village would flee on seeing him approach alone."²

Further information was given concerning legendary Attahs of Idah and of practices at Idah connected with the death of such kings. This information was as follows: After seven years the Attah of Idah was strangled by his enraged eunuchs, enraged at being castrated when adult men. There is also the account of how an unpopular *eze* of Idah was removed by his people. The story as told in Aguku, ran as follows: A deep pit was dug. The *eze* of Idah was called and a man was appointed to show it to him. Both fell into the pit together, whereupon his subjects promptly filled it in and so rid themselves of their *eze*.

These two accounts, the castration of full grown males and the death of an *eze* in a pit should be compared with the following extract taken from an account of the installation of the Attah of Idah. Describing the duties performed by the Attah on the first day after completing his installation, Mr. Seton, District Officer, writes: "On this day also a new eunuch was made (probably more than one)..."

Describing one of the legendary Attahs, Oboni by name, Mr. Seton writes that at Oguruguru this Attah, after having failed in his attempt at a war on heaven, decided to make war on those under the earth.³ "Here he said he was determined to fight the people under-ground, and set an army of men to dig a long deep hole sloping into the earth. It is supposed to have reached a length of eight miles. Into this he

evidence of direct contact with Idah it is admitted that most of the Nsukka Division was at one time (how long ago cannot now be determined) overrun by an Igala raider known as Onu (chief) Ojo Ogbonyi. This person is reputed to have been the son of the Ata of Idah... He is said to have been a giant with six fingers and toes, and to have died at Ogurugu."

³ Farrow S. S. *Faith, Fancies and Fetish*, p. 18. London 1926. — The occurrence of similar stories in both the Yoruba and Iukun tradition suggests a common origin. The Yoruba legend is: "Lishabi's Rock is a cliff on the bank of the river Ogun, about midway between Lagos and Abeokuta, where Lishabi, a great hunter and warrior and the reputed founder of Abeokuta, is said to have descended into the earth after suffering defeat at the hands of the Dahomians."

¹ Thomas N. W. *Report - Ibo Speaking Peoples*. Part I. p. 138. London 1913. — Thomas reports the naming of the Igbo week days as follows: "Cuku sent the days of the week; four things like women carried baskets and came to the king's house, neither king nor doctors knew what they were, but they said that if the king did not sleep he would see at night; a rat came out and went inside the basket, calling Eke, Eke, what is inside your basket and so on for the other days: the king remembered the four names and when the four things stood in a row he called them by their names."

² Meek C. K. *An Ethnological Report of the Peoples of the Nsukka Division. Omitsha Province*. v. 4. Lagos 1931. — Mr. Meek considers that this giant was an historical person. Writing of the Ibo in the Nsukka Division he remarks: "Though there is little traditional

first sent 500 *okute* bearers, and 1,000 drummers. After which he himself rode in on horseback and bade his nobles follow: 'He wishes us all to die with him. We will not follow him. Let us fill in the hole before he can get out.' This they did with rocks, tree-trunks, stones and earth. The place is said to be haunted, and at night the sound of drums and *kakakiya* can be heard there."¹

Such narratives in Aguku and in Idah concerning the death of legendary Attahs is corroboration of the assertion that if the Umundri are not of actual Igala extraction, then the Umu-ndri and the Igala have a common origin.

In most of the other versions the ancestor of the group is claimed to be Ndri, and not Eri who is never mentioned. The general characteristic of these other versions is that they are poorer both in detail and in incident. The account given by one Okeke who comes from the family of the last *eze* Ndri runs as follows: "Ndri was the original man sent by Chuku who also sent an Awka man to dry the land with bellows, fire and charcoal. An *ofo* was given to Awka by Ndri to confirm him in the work of a blacksmith which he was to perform when travelling about. When food became scarce Chuku instructed Ndri to kill his eldest son and eldest daughter. He did so and buried them and so procured yams and *koko* yams. He also killed and buried a male and female slave. Their skulls were buried separately from their bodies, and after three native weeks out of the burial place of the male skull grew an oil-palm, and out of the female grew a bread-fruit tree. In this way Ndri and his family were supplied with food. Chuku ordered that this food should be distributed among the surrounding peoples. Ndri demurred but was over-ruled by Chuku. Ndri then said he would make a charge for distributing the yams, and that

is why, even to this day, surrounding towns still pay tribute to Ndri's descendants." The legend accounts for the sky origin of the following persons, Ndri, who introduced the idea of the kingship and of the nobility, i.e. the taking of titles through the use of the *ofo* or sacred bundle; Awka, (Oka) who was a blacksmith Umudioka who cut the first *ichi* marks on the first born son and daughter of Ndri, preparatory to their being sacrificed to produce food. These people, with the root "oka" in their names, are characterized by one common feature, viz., all their work can be described as handcraft. Now, the present Igbo word for a hand is *aka*. The root of the verb, "to carve marks with a knife", is *-ka*. Any craftsman, e.g. a carpenter or a painter is to-day called *oka*. In all these words there is the root idea of "work with the hands", i.e. handcraft. It seems not unreasonable to suggest that the word "Awka" (Oka) is really a descriptive term for the craftsmen who accompanied Eri from the skyworld, and that the settlements are represented to-day by the towns of Awka (artisans) and of Umudioka, (*Umu*-children of, *di*- sign of the plural, *oka*- artisans) It was no uncommon thing for a community to migrate as a complete unit; and it is just possible that the legend describes such an actual migration and its final settlement in a strange land among strange people, who were half ape and half man, and lived like animals in the bush.² Because Ndri supplied to all people, his descendants are allowed free access to all Igbo towns.

This traditional account of how food came to men on earth from Chuku on high is daily brought before the notice of all *ozo* titled men. These men whenever they salute the sky-beings, do so by raising their *ngwu agiliga* (*ozo* sacred spears) to the sky, and then bringing them smartly down,

1933. — "But in the ancient world for many centuries the exchange of goods between ordinary folk of different countries seems to have been carried on by guilds of craftsmen who exported themselves rather than their wares. In other words, they split up into groups and moved in caravans from one country to another. There they settled for a varying length of time and followed their particular calling... Sometimes these craftsmen settled for good in the foreign country to which they came."

¹ Seton R. S. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*. Vol. LVIII. 1928. pp. 266-267.

² Hocart A. M. *The Progress of Man*. p. 278. London 1933. — In support of the suggestion that Eri was, e.g. the leader of a migratory expedition which contained artisans, the following questions are relevant. Cfr. "Archeology is accumulating evidence that extensive commercial expeditions were carried out at a very early period."

Glanville S. R. K. *The Egyptians*. p. 49. London

thereby driving the spears into the ground. While lifting the spears to the heavens, such men will say: "*Chuku, nia n'ani wetalum ife: ife nni, naife nine*", which being interpreted means: "Chuku, come to earth, bring me something, food, and all other things."

Some comments are necessary on the tradition. Thus, Northcote Thomas states that when he recorded this tradition he was informed that until Chuku presented yams to the human race, yams were unknown. Yams were at that time "unknown to man, for human beings walked in the bush like animals".

Who were these beings who lived like animals in the bush until Chuku sent yams? Were these beings the indigenous Igbo or were they the Umundri themselves. Is this statement an historical truth or an oral dramatization of ritual? This statement about human beings living like animals in the bush, i.e. as food-gatherers until yams were sent by Chuku, if true history, could refer to the Igbo indigenous inhabitants and would then fit in with the other part of the tradition, namely, that after Chuku gave yams these were distributed to the rest of the world by the Umundri.

As history it would also fit in with the fact that the Umundri are not Igbo. In a prayer heard at Aguku, occurred the sentence, "*ofo ainyi ji eli Igbo*" (*ofo* sacred emblem) with which we eat the Igbo).¹ These words indicate that the Igbo were in existence when the Umundri invaders arrived who subdued or "ate" them through the power of the *ofo*.

Outside confirmation of the idea that the Igbo were food-gatherers, living like animals in a morass (i.e. on uncultivated land), until the sky-god sent Eri and others to make the land habitable, is found in the story of the founding of the Yoruba nation. "There is evidence at Ife today which suggests that the place had been inhabited for sometime before the Yorubas arrived,

but there are no stories as to what became of the inhabitants. These original people are now called 'Igbos' and Ife town is sometimes called 'Ife Oye Lagbo i.e. the town of the people who never died'. The first inhabitants were said to be half man and half ape."²

This assertion that these first inhabitants were half man and half ape agrees with what was told to Northcote Thomas at Aguku, that originally men were like animals wandering in the bush. The fact that the Yoruba refer to these original people as Igbo, and that the Umundri refer to all their surrounding people as Igbo who are therefore not of Umundri stock, is an argument that these areas were inhabited by a food-gathering type of person when both the Yoruba and the Umundri ancestors arrived. The word Igbo appears to come from a root whose primary meaning is "people of the bush or forest,"³ and later to have acquired the derived, or secondary meaning of serf".

Against accepting this statement about men and animals being true history is the fact that the story ought to be told by the Igbo themselves, of themselves, narrating how sky-beings appeared among them and how yams came to be their food. But the Igbo do not tell this story. It is told only by the royal Umundri families in Aguku and not elsewhere. This fact, that the story, the myth, the word is the sole property of a number of royal families in one town points to the conclusion that it is not Igbo history.

As an historical event there would be no object in the Umundri invaders embodying within the texture of their legend of origin an account of how their sudden irruption into the land of the Igbo must have appeared to the Igbo. Such an event, as an invasion by the Umundri forefathers, could not have been anything unusual or of sufficient significance to be incorporated in their tradition. Again, the statement refers to what men were like in the beginning. The Igbo could

¹ Meek C. K. *A Sudanese Kingdom*. p. 25. London 1931. — This same idea of conquering a race by eating it is recorded by Mr. Meek. "It is stated that the chief of Kororofa came to attack Kano, and that the people of Kano left the city and went to Daura. The invaders consequently ate up the whole country."

² Ward-Price H. L. *Land Tenure in the Yoruba Province*. p. 1. Lagos 1933.

³ Among the Yoruba, Igbo — forest. Compare the English word Heathen which merely means people of the heath: so that Igbo may have meant originally, people of the bush or forest.

not have been the first people to experience the shock of the type of culture introduced among them by the Umundri.

Can the statement then be Umundri history? Reasons will be given to show that the statement most likely refers to a ritual process and is accordingly part of the historical record of their ritual. In other words, the statement is an oral dramatization of a ritual step and as such is Umundri ritual history. That some such explanation accounts for the historical accuracy of the statement, that until Chuku sent yams men lived like animals, may be gathered from the following remarks. Those who first came from Chuku were fed by him. When they died or disappeared the heavenly supply of food ceased or was cut off. The descendants suffered hunger and were famished until Chuku sent them the gifts of yams and other food.

It is difficult to believe that this statement is a record of actual fact. Here were human beings who had a high degree of culture, so high that its origin was ascribed to the sky and yet were unaware of the planting of crops. As a record of actual fact it is difficult to accept, as a record of a ritual step in a ceremony it is acceptable and it also offers an explanation for an obscure part of the present coronation ceremony.

It will be noticed that in the tradition this time of hunger, of living like animals in the bush, occurs after the death of the first sky-being to come to earth.

If now it is realized that the fertility of man's crops depends on the divine king then the story of this famine, this period of living like animals in the bush, becomes explicable. If the king is not the actual food crop, and among the Jukun he is thus definitely identified with the crops, yet the king and the crops are intimately connected or interrelated, so much so that if there is no king the fertility of the earth is gone; it is futile to plant and there are crops. There can be no new crops until a new king comes and brings the gift of food and fertility with him. During this interregnum the people have to make

what shift they can for sustenance and may have to live like animals in the bush on what they can find there. Men would thus be thrown upon their own resources, be forced to hunt for such food as they could find in the bush till a new king came.

Among the Jukun some such idea exists, for when there is no king, certain food restrictions are imposed. "During the interregnum no pounding of corn in mortars is allowed; the corn has to be beaten with sticks, and it is said that the people suffer considerable discomfort owing to this rough method of preparing the flour. The conception underlying this practice would seem to be that the late king, who has now become an Osiris, has gone away with the Corn, and that the people are left destitute until the new king arrives from the skies to play the part of Horus. That year's harvest is regarded as belonging to the dead king, so that the new king may be said, like Horus, to 'reap the barley of his father'."¹

This explanation accounts for that ritual step which in the coronation ceremony required the divine king to live for a time in booths. He is going through the process of living like an animal till he, as a new king, is crowned, and brings back fertility to the land, and crops to men's farms.

So far only incidents in the tradition have been discussed: e.g. the introduction of food from Chuku: the living like animals in the bush. Taken separately, each item can be made to apply to the indigenous Igbo as statements of historical fact but the tradition cannot thus be treated piecemeal. It must be dealt with as a whole. As a whole it fulfils the essential ritual of the myth in the ceremony: as a whole it is found narrated only in Aguku and as a whole it forms part of the Umundri culture. These considerations lead to the conclusion that the myth is an oral dramatization of the ritual and provides the purpose for performing the ritual, namely, to ensure the fertility of the land; rather than that the myth is an historical description of the sudden and startling arrival among a food-gathering community of a king cult with its sacred emblem the *ofo*, and a high degree of

¹ Meek C. K. *A Sudanese Kingdom*. p. 177. London 1931.

civilization which included a knowledge of agriculture and of metal working.

That the Igbo were already in occupation of the land when the Umundri arrived is undoubtedly correct, but that this invasion is chronicled in the Umundri legend cannot, I think, be accepted.

It is thus clear that like many agricultural tribes, e.g. in the United States, the Umundri tradition shows a belief in creators who were in the sky and from whom they obtained all their culture. They make no claim for originality themselves. The fundamentals of their culture are ascribed to sky-beings; it was by them that they were created and taught.¹

Another version ascribes all the legendary happenings to have taken place at the present Aguku but the history of this town shows that its present site is recent. This version runs as follows: "Adama, the group whose duty it is to attend to the divine king, the *exe* Ndri, and his wants, were here first. It was then all swamp. Ndri came down from the sky and met Adama here and said: 'So you are here already?' 'Yes', replied Adama. Ndri said the land was very bad, too wet and too soft, unhealthy and without food. So the two of them together asked Chuku and Anyangwu to send Awka to them with fire and bellows and charcoal to dry the land. Chuku sent Awka who with charcoal, fire and bellows dried the land and that is how Awka came into existence.

"Until Awka had dried up the land there were no *otonsi*."² It was Awka who made the first *otonsi* and enabled us to go travelling to clear abominations."

Another version obtained in the *obwe* of Diodo from one Obu Mmo ran as follows: "Ndrinamoke was the first *exe* Ndri. He came down from the sky and found Adama already here. The land was a morass, so Adama was sent to Awka and returned with four blacksmiths who brought fire, bellows and charcoal. They fixed their bellows round about the land, made fires and

dried up the earth. Ndri's son was sent to Chuku to get fire and found Chuku eating cooked yam, whereupon Chuku gave him a piece of yam. He ate a piece and brought a piece back to his father. His father liked the taste of it and so sent his son back again to Chuku to get some more. His son on arriving found Chuku eating cooked koko-yam. Chuku gave him some and the son ate some and took the rest to his father. His father also liked the taste of the koko-yam and went to Chuku himself to obtain supplies of both these foods. Chuku told him to kill his eldest son and daughter and to bury their skulls separately and that in three native weeks what appeared in the graves should be dug up and would be found to be yam and koko-yam.

"Ndrinamoke returned and took a male and a female slave and killed them instead, and buried their skulls. After three native weeks nothing had appeared, so he returned to Chuku and complained that he had done as directed but that nothing had appeared from the two graves. Chuku pointed out that Ndrinamoke had not killed his eldest son and eldest daughter and that if he had done so he would now be in possession of yam and koko-yam. Ndrinamoke returned and taking two dogs, gave one to the mother of his eldest son and told her to go from Eke market to market throughout the land. The other dog he gave to the mother of his eldest daughter and told her likewise to go from Oye market to Oye market.

"In this way, in the absence of the mothers of these children, he was able to lay hands upon them and kill them. He cut the bodies into pieces and buried them in separate graves and after three native weeks there grew from them yams and koko-yams as predicted. Ndrinamoke dug up the food and ate of it and told Chuku that he could not share his flesh and blood with other towns. Chuku ordered him to distribute the food for tribute and that no son of Ndrinamoke was to pay for food when visiting a town. Such descendants were to be paid eight yams on visiting a town, while all tribute paid was to be

¹ Perry W. J. *Gods and Men*. pp. 15-16. London 1927.

² Sacred spears carried by the people of Ndri both male and female. The spear carried by the male is

long, that by the female, short. They are used in purging towns and persons of the effect of a breach of *nso'*

divided into two parts of which Adama was to have a half share."

This narrative of the tradition by Obu Mmo leaves out a great deal and appears to mix up incidents. He was found to be the least satisfactory informant when it came to recounting historical events of which corroborative evidence was available. The story by him of the killing of the male and female slave to deceive Chuku was greeted with scorn by the others. It was pointed out by them that Chuku could not be deceived and was not deceived.

The oral tradition as it is learnt by the heads of the royal families in Aguku, has now been given. Variations are noticed in these versions which, however, are fundamentally the same in each instance. This tradition is part of the paraphernalia of the royal cult. It is the duty of the seniors in these royal families to learn the tradition and to hand it on. If the families die out, both tradition and cult disappear for ever. It cannot be invented or created again. Some of these sacred emblems, and parts of the more striking features of the ritual of the cult, have become widely imitated and would persist, but in a gradually, degenerating form. In surrounding towns something is known of this tradition. To give a few of these versions will emphasize the point made at the beginning, namely, the necessity for applying to the source for accurate information. Thus, at Nimo, which is not an Umundri settlement, it was declared that the first man was created at Nri, i.e. at Aguku, and the first woman at Enugu. At Igbariam, an Umundri settlement, it was stated that the Ndri people were considered to have been the first Igbo, and Enugu the eldest son, i.e. Okpala Ndri.

This same principle of applying to the source for the correct version of the tradition, applies with equal force in ascertaining the correct use of the sacred and ceremonial objects. More especially is this practice important when ascertaining the use, to which, e.g. the *ofo* (a sacred emblem), is put. In towns away from direct Umundri influence, the *ofo* appears to become

confused with ancestral stakes, and possibly, at times, identified with the ancestors. In Umundri use, the *ofo* is a sacred bundle and as such, it remains throughout the ritual for gaining immortality by taking title. Amongst the Umundri it never becomes either an ancestral stake, or identified with the ancestors. The mysteries of Ndichie are different according as the information concerning its meaning and use are ascertained from the Umundri priests, or from the Igbo of towns which have accepted and imitated Umundri culture.

In the tradition the names Eri, Ndri and Ndri-namoke are given as the alleged founders of the Umundri group. There appear to be several explanations that will account for these different names. One suggestion is, that one influx of culture brought with it the name of one of these founders, that later on, another influx of the same culture arrived with a slightly different title for the original sky-being. This suggestion has the support of local belief, for, in discussing in Aguku this matter of the various names for the founder, one old man remarked, that Ndri had founded, what is to-day called, in Aguku, the Diodo group, and that Diodo was really a title name of the founder which title he gave to one of his sons. This suggestion fits in with the fact recorded by Basden, that when an *ozo* man takes his title, he adds four more names to his original name.

The Adama group claim that they were on earth before the first *exe* arrived, and saw Ndri himself come down from the sky. In other versions, it is stated that the Adama group were also sent by Chuku.

The Umundri tradition that it was a blacksmith who cleared the earth and thus made agriculture possible, finds a parallel in the Mambila tradition, which says that until blacksmiths came amongst them, their arrows were wooden-pointed, and their agriculture was conducted with a digging-stick. This account of the traditional state of the Mambila, describes the condition of a people just emerging from the food-gathering stage.¹

¹ Meek, C. K. *Tribal Studies in Northern Nigeria*. Vol. I. p. 535. London 1931. — "The fact that black-

smiths have preserved their own language would indicate that their immigration is of recent date and

Though the evidence shows an Igala origin for the Yoruba tradition and people, yet it must not be thought that Igala is the ultimate *fons et origo*. This type of culture is wide-spread, and seems to have entered Nigeria from the east. The Umundri culture is very similar to that of the Yoruba. Both ascribe their origin to sky-beings, but the Umundri no longer connect these sky-beings with a place of origin lying somewhere in the east; whereas, among the Yoruba, where this type of culture is better preserved, its origin is placed in the east.¹ The

Jukun civilization, which is of the same pattern, lies east both of Yoruba and of Igala land. It is conceivable that the forerunners of both the Yoruba and of the Igala, and consequently of the Umundri, were of Jukun stock, or of the founders of the Jukun culture. Even if the Jukun are fathered with the Umundri culture, Dr. Meek has shown that the Jukun arrived at their present site from the east.² For the present the probable origin of the Umundri culture must be left at this point.

this is borne out by the Mambila tradition that formerly the Mambila had no iron weapons, their arrows being wooden pointed, and their agricultural work being carried out by means of digging sticks."

¹ Burton R. *Abeokuta and the Cameroon Mountains*. p. 231. — Burton in 1863 noted that the Yoruba referred their origin to the eastwards. "It is remarkable that all these legends derive the population of Yoruba from the East, and—even the fables which natives tell concerning their origin most frequently show a

modicum of truth—we are so far justified in believing that from early times, a race of pagans, upshed forward by the stream of immigration from the lands nearer Arabia, occupied the thinly populated countries south of the Kwora."

² Meek C. K. *A Sudanese Kingdom*. p. 22. London 1931. — "The Jukun, though they state that they have been told that their forefathers came from the East, from Birnin Masr, Mecca or East of Mecca, have no knowledge of the Kisra tradition."

CHILD MAINTENANCE IN A SMALL SOUTH AFRICAN TOWN

D. G. Bettison *

SYNOPSIS

The maintenance of African children by their putative fathers, in an undisclosed urban community, is being increasingly disregarded. Migration and the break up of family life are contributory causes. A brief analysis is made of the type of women seeking support for their children.

A voluntary welfare organization attempted to encourage proper support by acting as intermediary between the parental parties concerned. The work became so onerous that the service had to be transferred to some other authority.

The article is an elaborated account of a meeting called to discuss this transfer of service. It shows the administrative difficulties with which the Police and the Department of Justice were confronted in handling cases of non-support of African children. The article also shows the inadequacy of Native Law to ensure regular maintenance of children brought up under urban conditions, and considers the advantages of the Children's Act for this purpose.

This note is an elaborated record of a meeting probably unique in the annals of a small South African town.¹ The meeting was convened by the chairman of a voluntary Child Welfare Society to discuss with interested parties the consequences of the Society's decision to abandon the administration of "non-support", i.e. the collection of money from men and its redistribution to women for the maintenance of their dependent children. The meeting included interesting illustrations of the attitude of administrators to a complex social problem. The record is here elaborated by providing the sociological background to the problem of non-support, and to the relations between the parties concerned. The note concerns non-support among the African community only.

Those attending the meeting included senior representatives of the magistrate's office – which is also the local Native Commissioner's Office, officers of the local and district police, the regional representative of the Department of Social

Welfare, the officer administering municipal non-European affairs, professional social workers from local interested organizations (one African and one European), and the chairman and staff of the Child Welfare Society.

In opening the meeting the chairman explained that since before the last war the Society had voluntarily undertaken the administration of certain cases of non-support. Since the end of 1954 the Society had been unable to procure trained, and hence government-subsidized, social workers, and its limited financial resources made it impossible to employ adequate non-subsidized workers. Further, non-support work had grown to such an extent that it now occupied the Society's staff for two and a half days a week. At present approximately 350 Africans and over 50 Coloured cases (over 800 persons in all) were visiting or writing to the Society's offices weekly from all parts of the country.

A system had evolved whereby the men came in on Fridays or Saturdays after receiving their

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¹ To preserve the anonymity of the Government officials involved, it is proposed not to mention the name of the town.

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pay. On the following Monday the women came in to collect their dues. The sums of money involved were usually from 5s. to 10s. per week. Men submitting payments by mail frequently paid monthly. The staff had to issue two sets of receipts as well as keeping the necessary transfer accounts.

It might be added that the increase in this type of work is common to all parts of the Union. The most affected area is probably the South-Eastern Cape where the disintegration of traditional family life is proceeding rapidly. The cities in this area, such as Port Elizabeth and East London, have absorbed migratory women to more than numerical parity with men. The towns in the hinterland of these cities have also experienced an increase in women residents. Concurrently with this drift of women to towns and cities there appears to be a counter-movement of women seeking refuge in the hinterland towns after becoming illegitimately pregnant or otherwise experiencing serious domestic problems while resident in the larger cities. As the problems are principally female and familial the load is particularly heavy on child welfare societies. It must be mentioned that this argument has not been submitted to thorough scientific analysis and verification; the suggestion is made after a number of years' experience in the field. A study of 50 cases of non-support, taken at random from the files of the Society, of people who had their first interview between July 1954 and October 1955, showed that 19 or 38 per cent of cases had quarreled with the putative father while resident away from the town in which the Society is situated. The women then moved into the Society's sphere of operations. Of these 19 cases, 14 had separated from the man while resident in the nearest city to the Society.

There is in law no obligation for a voluntary society to undertake the administration of non-support payments. The Child Welfare Society had undertaken this work in the interests of the child and the mother. The Society's good offices facilitated the payment by (1) exerting moral influence over the father to make regular payment, (2) by enabling an accurate record of payments

to be kept and a limited amount of follow up to be done, and (3) by removing the social frictions likely to arise on the mother and father meeting weekly or monthly, as the case may be, to hand over the money. The Society had handled those cases where the father had admitted paternity and expressed a willingness to support the child. In such cases there was no necessity to bring the matter before the courts.

The transfer of money from man to woman under these conditions contains inherent possibilities of friction in any community. Experience has shown that Africans experience greater difficulty than might be expected. The use of postal and other indirect means of payment between locally resident parties is not general for this purpose. Nor has any extensive system of "go-betweens", so characteristic of difficult social relations in traditional Bantu culture, been evolved. The personal handing over of cash frequently leads to the resumption of social relations between the parties. The incidence of violence by the man against the woman is high in such cases, even if a sexual relation has been re-established. An explanation may lie in the fact that in traditional Bantu culture this persistent and regular maintenance of illegitimate children did not arise as the obligation was on the woman's family to support the child at least until the compensatory fine for the seduction and pregnancy had been paid. This payment was made to the woman's family, and not to the woman direct. Further, these women are often resident with their own family or eking out an existence independent of both their own family and that of the man. The absence of a marked restraining influence on the behaviour of the woman, exercised in the traditional culture by the man's family in the case of married people, and the relative freedom in sexual matters of Bantu men towards unattached women especially in urban areas, may also be a contributory factor.

Experience suggests that the majority of men responsible for illegitimate children are over 25 years of age. Cases of parenthood by youths are relatively rare in the files of the Society. The sample of 50 cases showed only two where the

men were clearly about 18-20 years of age. At the time the woman first complained to the Society, 13 or 26 per cent of the men involved were living or having sexual relations with some other woman. Only three of these "other women" were their legal wives. The age of the man is important to the question of non-support in so far as it tends to establish his likely social responsibilities. The older the man the more children he is likely to be called upon to support. On the other hand, unlike those to whom better paid jobs are available, the African's pay tends not to increase with age and responsibility. This is characteristic of most unskilled labourers. Those men whose sexual activities result in their becoming responsible for children by more than one woman, place themselves in a position where their income can never become sufficient to support all their dependents regularly. Sooner or later one or other of the women comes to the Society's office to complain of non-support. The incidence of women coming to complain of infidelity on the part of husbands or "sweet-hearts", as they call them, is negligible — finance and not infidelity is the motive force.

The women tend to fall into three groups : (1) young unmarried girls becoming pregnant usually by unmarried men. Of the 50 sampled 14 or 28 per cent were of this type. (2) Women usually between 25-35 years of age, who have parted from a man with whom they formerly lived for a number of years as man and wife, or to whom they were formerly married by customary union, or civil or religious rites ; and who is now failing to support them. Twenty-four or 48 per cent were of this type. And (3) those women, usually somewhat older and with correspondingly older children, who have had relations with more than one man, and had children from each, but one or other, or each of the men is failing to support. Twelve or 24 per cent were of this type.

The policy of the Society has been to enquire into the reasons for a failure to support and to tide a woman over by temporary assistance.

¹ The increase in the incidence of non-support should not be construed as necessarily indicating an overall increase in the incidence of illegitimacy,

It was only in cases where the man disregarded the woman and her children, or did not admit paternity, or sought anonymity by frequent changes of address, that the case was referred to the police.

The police had also experienced a rapid increase in non-support cases. In round figures, in 1954 there were 90 cases while in 1955 the figure was approaching 300. The discussion at the meeting revealed that the police held the view that the women were : (1) abusing the good offices of the Society by making untrue accusations that broke down under police interrogation ; and (2) that women were having illegitimate children indiscriminately because the 5s. per week support for each child, especially if she had more than two children, was more remunerative than work in domestic employment. The average wage for female domestic labour — virtually the only type of work open to them — is 12s. 6d. to 15s. per week, and is usually paid monthly. The police took the view that the matter had become what is colloquially known as "a racket".¹

The attitude of the police is important because so much of the administration should fall to them. Section 16 (2) of the Children's Act, No. 31 of 1937, under which they most frequently operate, reads : "Any person legally liable to maintain a child who, while able to do so, fails to provide that child with adequate food, clothing, lodging and medical aid, shall be guilty of an offence." The procedure adopted by the police is to take the woman's statement and contact the man she alleges to be the father. In almost two-thirds of the cases handled, the man, on police enquiry, did not dispute the accusations and agreed to pay. The case was then referred back to the Society for administration. If the man disputed the accusation or failed to comply, the case was submitted to the Public Prosecutor.

The police, being short-staffed, were concerned over the amount of work involved. These cases took nearly as much time to investigate as more serious ones. They argued that from their point of view it would be advantageous if the Society

but possibly that the services of the Society and the police were becoming better known.

made the initial investigation, settled what cases it could, and referred only the serious cases to them. The chairman replied that that was the past procedure, and only unco-operative cases had ever reached the police via the Society. Further, the Society having no legal standing, was handicapped by being unable to take statements under oath. Also, in some instances the Society's male African staff had been threatened by implicated men when a request for support had been made.

The Society's intended action to abandon the administration on non-support would involve the police in much more work. In view of their function in society generally they could not very well refuse to undertake it. Confronted with this predicament, and faced with a shortage of staff, the police, expressing their personal views, classified cases according to whether or not the complainants could produce written evidence of their married status. They suggested that cases that had entered into civil or Christian marriages should be assisted since they had proof of their legal status ; but those where no marriage under the common law had been contracted should be discouraged at the time the woman made the first complaint. None of the latter cases should be referred to them by the Society. No reference was made to cases married by customary union, but as no certificate is issued at these ceremonies, the police could, if they stuck to their definition, discourage them. By following such a policy, which would no doubt discourage complaints, women with illegitimate children would be the sufferers. Unless the woman was acquainted with the child's rights under Section 16 (2) of the Children's Act (which makes no reference to legitimacy), they would be left largely to fend for themselves.

The rationalization used by the police officials present contained reference to the need to impress upon the local Bantu moral consequences of their actions - that giving them no assistance would teach the women to think more seriously of the consequences of their actions. The low incidence of European non-support cases dealt with by all the interested parties showed that

European town-dwellers had already learnt this lesson. Further, from the point of view of the law, it was also a woman's duty to support her children, and she should go out to work ; if she said she was ill, a medical certificate should be obtained ; if the child needed adult attention, she should use the creche facilities or find a friend to look after it. The sample of 50 cases showed, however, that at least 38 per cent of the women were working - the true figure is likely to be much higher as the files were poorly completed in respect of this item.

The magistrate's office was also concerned at the possibility of more cases passing through the courts. The difficulty here was the work of collection and payment in terms of the Order of Court. Clerks of the Court to whom this work is assigned are responsible for the financial administration of many more provisions than those under the Children's Act, and with the present staff shortage, it was thought no more work could be thrown on them. Section 60 of the Children's Act is so worded as to give the Courts a discretion as to whether or not a contribution order is made against the man. Prior to the middle of 1955, magistrates customarily gave a suspended sentence in non-support cases on condition that the offender supported in future. More recently magistrates have tended to sentence a man to imprisonment with the option of a fine but with no suspended sentence. The suggestion was made at the meeting that the new procedure would result in a reduction in convictions and would administratively reduce the amount of work done by the magistrate's staff. The distribution and collection in terms of the order of court would be dispensed with. In the event of the man again failing to support, instead of the enforcement of the suspended sentence, as would be the case in the original procedure, a second charge would be laid and the matter treated *de novo* in the usual way. It appears that in such cases the sufferer would again be the woman and child.

The effects of the new procedure have already been observed in the increasing number of calls on the Society for temporary assistance to women

and children who argue that the man who is their only means of support is serving a sentence in gaol for failure to support. It is too early as yet to ascertain if the change will effect a reduction in the number of cases of non-support.

Representatives of the magistrate's office were at pains to explain to the meeting one of the dilemmas in which they frequently found themselves. The law permits a putative father to be sued for the seduction and pregnancy of the mother under Native Law; also, under the Children's Act, the putative father can be prosecuted if he fails to support his children. The judicial officials considered it unfair that a man should be made to pay on both counts. Administratively the officials viewed unsympathetically a charge by a woman under the Children's Act if her family had already been granted or had requested compensation for her seduction and pregnancy under Native Law. To the officials her remedy appeared to lie in her approaching her family to institute proceedings under Native Law for the proper payment of compensation.

The problem involved is largely a sociological one. The woman now aims at legally securing the maintenance of her child. The socio-economic circumstances of traditional tribal life have in the past made it unnecessary to make special provision for such cases. In most cases the child, if illegitimate, was looked after by its mother's family, and the compensation for her seduction and pregnancy was not viewed as maintenance for the child. A social system emphasizing co-operative and mutual support in the distribution of wealth within the family group and the overall prevention of personal indigency, had no need to make provision for the maintenance of children *per se* whether legitimate or illegitimate. Such questions could be assumed. However, the socio-economic conditions of urban areas are such as to make this lack of provision a serious handicap to the rights of women and the welfare of children brought up in urban conditions.

Further, in Native Law, a woman's legal status is that of a "perpetual minor". This status has value to her so long as she remains intimately associated with her family. Evidence suggests

that the townward drift of women has in many instances removed them from the presence of their family and in a few instances from the sphere of influence of their family. Native Law is without proper provision for this type of case. An administrative act on the part of judicial officials to refer such women to the provisions of Native Law appears to be unreal. To those who appreciate the social problem, the practical difficulty becomes one of determining the extent to which the detribalization of African women has made Native Law inapplicable in particular urban areas; or, if judicial officers have the time to consider each case on its merits, to determine whether Native Law or Common Law is the most realistic, given the facts before them. In the interests of the child, it appears that urban areas warrant an extended use of the Children's Act, particularly as Section 16 (2) refers to "any person legally liable to maintain a child" and hence includes illegitimate as well as legitimate children, and their progenitors.

There is a further complicating factor. In the case of married women, married under Native customary union, the husband, in accordance with traditional practice, sends his wife and children to live with his parents in the event of difficulties in the urban area. So long as she remains with them and is supported by them, no claim for non-support is possible. However, it frequently happens that she finds life with her parents-in-law unbearable, or has no intention of remaining dependent on the man and his family, and returns to her own parents. Her husband and her in-laws apparently view this action as a sign that she has left them and is no longer entitled to their support. Her own parents then urge her to apply to the Society for the support of her children under the Children's Act. The procedure under Native Law in such cases is to determine if the woman's action constitutes a legal dissolution of the union and to what extent the *lobolo* must be returned. If the children are returned to the man's family their support by them can be assumed, but as is frequently the case, if the younger children remain with the mother, there is no provision under

Native Law for their continued support by the father. For this purpose the Children's Act must be invoked to make any certain and adequate provision for them in urban areas until they reach 16 years of age.

Experience has shown that Africans prefer to seek compensation for seduction and pregnancy in preference to a charge under the Children's Act. This is particularly so in the case of first-born children where the compensation claimable is larger than for subsequent births. The files of the Society show very few instances where compensation has been sought for the second or third child. It is at this stage that the women tend to claim support under the Children's Act. It appears that the Africans have not realized, or are not prepared to take advantage of, the difference in value between £25 or 5 head of cattle and the customary £1 per month until the child is 16 years of age, obtainable under the Children's Act.

Despite the presence of many trained social workers at the meeting, the discussion never dwelt at length on the effects on children of the administrative proposals put forward. The subject was mentioned but not pressed. The chairman of the Society did mention that one effect would be an increase in the number of reported cases of child neglect and malnutrition. The result of the meeting was a new delimitation of functions between the police, who would in future handle non-support, and the Society's staff who would be more diligent in searching for cases of neglect and under-nourishment.

In conclusion, the rapid urbanization of the Bantu has led to changes in their way of life. The relations, and consequential status and responsibilities, between persons and between groups of persons have changed. Social research has not yet elucidated the facts and complex processes of these changes. Legal administrators, police and social scientists are aware of the disintegration of the old, and yet unable to handle the new. Government officers are faced with high figures of non-support, illegitimacy, delinquency, infant mortality, and a host of pathological symptoms. Departments of state are faced with a shortage of staff.

This article has illustrated how officials of two administrative departments can formulate ways and means of adjusting their staff shortage to an increase in the incidence of non-support. It appears that in both cases the consequences of their suggestions would lead to a deterioration in the circumstances of women and dependent children. A rationalization which supports this consequence rests on the supposition that increasing pain will tend to improve moral standards.

Lastly, it may briefly be asked if the inability to cope adequately with the number of non-support cases is due to a staff shortage or to problems inherent in the law and administration itself. It is suggested that the law is adequate in this regard; the Children's Act contains adequate provision for all cases except those where Native Law might be more suitable for Natives living under tribal conditions.¹ As far as the police are concerned the principal administrative difficulty is the shortage of staff. If the police had adequate men to investigate and carry to their conclusion all cases of non-support reported to them, there would be no need for the voluntary Child Welfare Society to assist except perhaps in certain cases where social work techniques could better rehabilitate a family through the temporary administration of non-support payments.

As far as the magistrate's court is concerned, the change in procedure from giving a suspended sentence and an order of court against the father to giving a sentence without suspending it and no order of court, can be viewed as a consequence of staff shortage. The judicial officers present at the meeting clearly understood the effects of this change, but considered they had little alternative. However, the shortage of staff is not decisive in respect of the discretion held by a Native Commissioner's Court in terms of Section 11 of the Native Administration Act, 1927, to decide questions between Natives involving Native custom in terms of Native Law. It may appear unfair for a man to pay both for seduction and pregnancy under Native Law and to be prose-

See van Reenen: *Handbook of the Children's Act*, (Butterworth), Durban, 1953, page 76, especially the remarks of Hathorn J. P.

cuted under the Children's Act for non-support, but the social conditions of urban areas are such that if the Children's Act is not enforced, the children are likely to suffer. The difficulty appears to lie originally in the persistence of Africans in suing under Native Law for seduction and pregnancy instead of proceeding under the Children's Act in the first instance.

It appears that the role of the voluntary child

welfare society in its assistance to African children is likely to be enlarged. Its work will tend to change from the administration of non-support to the financial assistance of certain women and dependent children who are finding difficulty in inducing the putative father to contribute towards his child's support, and to greater vigilance in respect of neglected and malnourished children.

BOOK REVIEW

Swahili Lessons. ERNEST B. HADDON. W. Heffer and Sons, Ltd., Cambridge. 1955. xxx, 242 pp. 15s.

This book, we are told, is the fruit of a lifetime's experience of speaking Swahili and of ten years' experience of teaching it to Colonial Probationers. Of Mr. Haddon's own practical grasp of Swahili there is ample evidence. He is fluent and aware of fine distinctions and ranges of meaning. He is also aware of changes going on within the language, of forms now obsolete and of importations, and he gives us his opinion on all these. The present book has grown out of a series of roneoed lecture notes, now amplified by the author. It reflects an energetic and forceful oral teaching but is, one feels, not a completely successful substitute for that. The lessons are not sufficiently graded or methodical to form a book. The text is still the basis of the lecture and has not been revised sufficiently to teach easily by itself. Together with another and more methodical grammar, this book would be highly valuable as a supplementary aid, and much can be learned from a conscientious use of the exercises. Another feature of the book felt by the present reviewer to be an obstacle to the pupil's forming a clear overall picture of Swahili is that

it embodies two or three different approaches to Bantu grammar, and one may recognize the influence of Doke's *Bantu Linguistic Terminology* and Ashton's *Swahili Grammar*, as well as that of Latin grammar and the author's own engaging informality which keeps breaking through.

The teacher of Bantu languages may learn much that is helpful and suggestive from Mr. Haddon's methods adapted to adult English-speaking students. Thus the noun classes are studied in three stages, each time in greater detail. Some of his explanations throw light on analogous or similar points in other Bantu languages as, for example, his suggestion that the difference between the imperative and the imperative use of the subjunctive consists in the imperative being more personal than the subjunctive, while the latter "is more formal, though equally forcible, and actual politeness depends more on the tone of voice than the form". (p. 27, par. 56).

Perhaps the best description of this book is that it is a very agreeable and instructive companion to the *Swahili Grammar* - and to the Bantu grammarian, whatever be his field.

G. FORTUNE

SOME RECENT STUDIES OF NATIVE LAW

A. J. KERR *

Now that Native courts are well established within the judicial systems of the various African Governments from the Union in the South to the Sudan in the North, and are being encouraged to develop, the administration of Native law has become a matter of increasing importance. Too often where law reports are non-existent or only of recent date the lawyer has to search for references to the law in works on general anthropology. It is pleasant to find that interest in Native law is growing and one welcomes the publication recently of three works entirely devoted to this study. These are: *A Manual of Nuer Law* by P. P. Howell;¹ *The Judicial Process among the Barotse of Northern Rhodesia* by Max Gluckman;² and *Juridical Techniques and the Judicial Process* by A. L. Epstein.³ The wide field of the enquiry is well illustrated in these works, for the first deals with the substantive law of an exceedingly primitive tribe, the second inquires into the judicial process in the rural courts of a more advanced tribe, while the third tackles the problems which arise in urban areas where members of dissimilar tribes come into contact with each other. It is to be hoped that others will follow, the lead thus given and turn their attention to the interesting problems encountered in the development of Native law.

The Nuer are a Nilotic people who live in the Upper Nile Province of the Sudan. In 1943 the District Commissioners requested an investigation of the principles of Nuer law and this was undertaken by Dr. Howell. His book, intended both for the administrator and for those interested in the study of primitive law, is the result. He covers the whole field of substantive law and

gives much useful information on marriage and divorce, delict, contract and property. The administrator will be pleased to find not only detailed rules on the movement of cattle which are paid as bridewealth or as compensation for bodily injury but also a precise account of the terminology used to describe each beast. The references to the development of the law and the problems met with in making changes will be of great interest to all students of law and not only to those concerned with the Nuer.

Before the advent of civilized government the Nuer according to Dr. Howell were as primitive as any tribe in Africa. They had no legal profession, ordeals and oaths were relied on, enforcement of rights was by self-help and feuds were frequent. The author believes that courts were first established by the Chiefs' Courts Ordinance of 1931 and, citing Prof. Evans-Pritchard with approval, he argues that having had no courts before then, the Nuer can have had no law. On this view the provision in the Ordinance that the courts should administer Native law would have laid on them an impossible task and this is such a startling proposition that one would have expected a fuller discussion of the authorities. Dr. Howell's work itself is evidence of the prior existence of law for the detailed and precise system he describes, containing as it does marked similarities to the laws of other African tribes, requires a period of time far in excess of that since 1931 for its evolution or even for the reception of the institutions of other laws, and there is no evidence that the courts have encouraged the latter. The state of Nuer law therefore supports Sir Frederick Pollock's statement in *A First Book of Jurisprudence* that "Law and legal justice

² Manchester University Press, 1955; xxiii + 386 pp., 37s. 6d.

³ Rhodes-Livingstone Papers, No. 23, Manchester University Press, 1954; vi + 37 pp., 6s.

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¹ Oxford University Press, 1954; xv + 256 pp., 35s.

can exist without a profession of judges or advocates. . . It is the administration of justice with some sort of regularity that marks the existence of law, not the completeness of the rules administered, nor any official character of those who administer them." This point of view can be supported with references to Malinowski's *Crime and Custom in Savage Society*, Allen's *Law in the Making*, Goodhart's *English Law and the Moral Law*, and to the literature on the legality of the Nuremberg Trials.

This is not to say that the establishment of courts has not introduced great changes and it is in the discussion of these changes that much of the interest of Dr. Howell's work lies. He points out that now that a court's order is sure to be put into effect litigation has increased. The certainty that payment of compensation will be enforced has reduced the incidence of homicide and generally the law has acquired a greater deterrent effect. There has, however, been one unforeseen result in that certain kraalheads, faced with the necessity of paying their debts (and blood-money having been raised to 50 head these may be considerable), have put up the bride-price of their daughters and this in turn has led to an increase in elopements. Legislation too is becoming increasingly popular as a source of law, so much so that Dr. Howell questions whether it is being wisely used.

Turning to the substantive law one can commend the detail with which Dr. Howell treats questions of bodily injury, marriage and divorce, but one wishes that he had been able to expand his section on inheritance to include the order of succession and a discussion on the effect of the distribution of cattle *mortis causa* mentioned on p. 193. The statement there that "while alive, a man will have absolute authority in allotting cattle which are his by right among his own sons" does not accord with the statement on p. 178 that the ownership of cattle is collective. The argument on p. 178 against individual ownership is not convincing as the holder's obligation to assist others in the family with their obligations may as well be met with a cow bought from earnings - which is expressed to be the individual's

exclusive property - as with one received as a marriage payment.

In the law of property Dr. Howell prefers to express ownership in land in terms of kinship but the instances cited in support concern grazing land which is used communally. As regards other land one learns that a man and his family have exclusive rights to his arable land so long as they choose and that his eldest son inherits his father's huts and cattle-byre. The fact that younger sons do not inherit residential land is considered by Dr. Howell to be evidence that there is "no individual inheritance of land" but it would appear that the exclusion of the younger sons is a very strong argument for *individual inheritance by the eldest*. In the result there seems to be some ground for thinking that Nuer law resembles Native law in South Africa under which an individual owns residential land and arable land while rights in grazing land belong to groups.

Prof. Gluckman in his book tells us that the Lozi in Barotseland have had a hierarchy of courts for at least two centuries and that there is no doubt about the existence of a body of Native law. He discusses the sources of the law and its application. He finds the sources of Lozi law to be (1) Custom, (2) Precedent, and (3) Legislation, which may override the first two. The spirit of equity informs the system; natural law and the law of nations are recognized; actions contrary to public policy are not supported. For his researches into these matters we are greatly in his debt. He shows that though the sources are the same the law is subject to far swifter change than is the case with more mature systems. Thus custom is the most important source but "in the absence of writing to record their past the Lozi can hallow almost any usage. . . and they can treat fairly recent innovations as ancient customs". Known customs may be changed if the change in conditions warrants it. Precedents may be forgotten or changed, for the courts are not absolutely bound by their prior decisions. Legislation cannot be read and being stored in memory becomes less precise with the passage of time till in the end it may be forgotten

In such a situation the difficulties met in finding the law in the sources account in large measure for the flexibility which is a noteworthy feature of the law. Prof. Gluckman praises this flexibility even to the extent of approving the use of terms such as "reasonable" with different meanings in different contexts without definition of the differences. In this he is supported by Mr. Epstein, who, before the publication of his own work, had the benefit of reading Prof. Gluckman's manuscript to which he refers. Little attention, however, is paid by either author to criticisms that have been made of the "concealed multiple reference" as Prof. Stone calls such terms in his book on *The Province and Function of Law*. The main argument advanced by Prof. Gluckman in its favour is that it enables the court to do justice and not only to administer law. Reference is made to a number of cases which it is claimed substantiate this. Referring to case No. 1 (p. 37), it is said on p. 306 that "the law states that if a man 'leaves' the village he loses his land. But 'leaves' requires definition and application: it comes low in the hierarchy, and has to be applied to a series of actions ranging from clear voluntary departure to another pole - being 'driven out'." It appears however that there is no need for the introduction here of a supposed antithesis between law and justice - what is needed is a clearer statement of the law when doubtless it will be found that it accords with justice. "Leaves" is certainly an ambiguous word but the cases cited seem to show that the correct formulation of the law would bring it into line with the laws of other Native tribes which state that a person loses his right if he "abandons" his land i.e. if he leaves with the intention of giving up his rights (cf. the South African case of *Nciyana v. Mandulini* (1919) 4 N.A.C. 159). If the principles of the law are formulated in vague general statements then every case will tend to be a long drawn out search for the correct rule and indeed most of the illustrations put forward in favour of a multiplicity of meanings for concepts are from those branches of the law that still require definition. Where the law is precise and known, Lozi courts apply it without question and Prof. Gluckman records

that "those who lend land must have their titles to it protected however hard it be on the borrowers". As case No. 30 (p. 140) shows, it is applied even when it is only the letter and not the spirit of the law that is broken. One hears little of flexibility in the rules relating to the payment and distribution of cattle on marriage and indeed few of the rules set out in works on the substantive law could be quoted with confidence if the courts in every case had to consider which of an undefined number of interpretations it should apply. There may well be a number of differing interpretations but one should strive to define them rather than to praise the lack of definition.

Books such as those under review which are rich in material will tend to reduce the uncertainty in the law and will restrict the field in which courts have to consider what the law should be. The Lozi will no longer be able to forget their precedents now that Prof. Gluckman has recorded them. One regrets, however, that other contemporary records of precedents have not been referred to. There are reports of the High Court, including cases on Native law heard therein, but none of the cases so reported are cited and from Prof. Gluckman's references to them one fears that he may take the point of view advanced by Prof. Schapera in the second edition of his *Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom* (Oxford University Press, 1955. 30s. p. xxiii) where he maintains that "the description of ancient usages" is the primary object of an anthropologist's enquiries and that reference to developments since the field study may be left to others. One would prefer works on law to refer to reported cases, for those that do not cannot be regarded as definitive - they require to be supplemented by reference to those reports and may indeed be misleading where the law has changed.

In describing the institutions of law, care is required in the use of terms and it is disappointing to find Prof. Gluckman mentioning in his preface that in general he uses common terms like "law", "right", "duty" etc. with the connotations given in the *Concise Oxford Dictionary*. Although one must wait for the publication of *The Ideas of Barotse Jurisprudence* for a detailed

treatment of land tenure, reference is made in the present work to "ownership" and "trusteeship", and if the word "trustee" is used in its dictionary meaning, it will only lead to confusion if applied to the king in respect of his rights to land, for the correct meaning in this context is in the law of sovereignty, not in the law of property. Both "trusteeship" and "ownership" require consideration in their legal rather than their general context. Prof. Gluckman has in fact made a careful study of Hohfeld's distinctions in the meanings of the word "right" and one hopes that his forthcoming books will show an equal appreciation of the legal meanings of other terms.

Native adjective law has been largely neglected in this century and one welcomes the interest Prof. Gluckman and Mr. Epstein show in it. Prof. Gluckman's work covers the courts in rural areas in Barotseland and Mr. Epstein's those in urban areas in Northern Rhodesia. Both affirm that the courts decide their cases upon consideration of the evidence, divination not being used and ordeals having been abolished. Both claim that Native courts adopt a far wider field of relevance than British courts but note that the enquiry is usually broadened in matrimonial matters and narrowed in others and Prof. Gluckman draws attention to the similarity in this to advanced systems of law. Though the expansion and contraction in the field of relevance follows the same pattern in Native courts as in European ones, the edges of the field are bound to be less clear in Native courts than elsewhere, for as there is no legal profession to draw up pleadings and to lay bare the essentials of a dispute, the court has to determine the point in issue and in doing this it must necessarily explore all possibilities. This is not to say that the parties are deprived of legal advice. Their cases may be presented by councillors but such advisers have no monopoly in determining the point in issue or in eliciting evidence. Again as a legal profession has not yet developed to the extent found in advanced systems, cross-examination is in the main by the bench and the reasons for judgment are expounded as opportunity offers during the hearing of the case. Both Prof. Gluckman and Mr. Epstein

claim that it is only because the litigants accept the court's standards that judgment can be given against them. Prof. Gluckman says, at p. 91: "Saywa [the defendant who had given evidence on his own behalf] accepted the same norms as the judges and used them in his probably lying statement to make his behaviour appear reasonable. Hence the judges were able to cross-examine and expose him and give judgment against him by these same norms." This is a *non sequitur* for judgment does not depend on the standards of litigants. Thus in *Nkambula v. Linda*, 1951(1) S.A. 377 (A.D.), it was argued in the court *a quo* that because a Native woman Lena entered into a potentially polygamous union (a "tribal marriage"), it could not matter to her morally under what conditions her husband contracted his second marriage, that therefore he could not be considered as having deserted her by marrying another by civil rites and that therefore he could claim a refund of cattle paid for her on the ground that her departure from the common home was her fault. On this point Fagan, J. A., says, at p. 382-3:

"The Acting President said that as Lena is shown by her tribal marriage to be a tribally-minded individual, it cannot matter to her morally under what conditions her husband contracted the second marriage. But it surely must matter to her when the second marriage is contracted under conditions that are incompatible with the continuance of his conjugal relations with her; and if indeed Lena's moral views in respect of a civil marriage are sufficiently adaptable those of this Court are not, and we should in a matter of this nature base our order on our standard, not on hers."

The case upon which Prof. Gluckman's statement is based, No. 14, *Mutebele v. Saywa*, shows that the court was in fact testing the witness' story against the probabilities and, finding a big discrepancy, it concluded that he was lying. This is a normal procedure in testing the credibility of evidence in any court and it is not necessary to read into it "the reasonable husband",

"the reasonable induna" etc., while it is certainly confusing to speak of a "reasonable thief", as Prof. Gluckman does. There may be habits common to thieves or usual ways of acting but "reasonable" does not mean the same as "habitual".

The Northern Rhodesian Government has made certain changes in the realm of procedure, particularly in respect of jurisdiction. Courts are now established in terms of statutes and may not apply Native law if it is contrary to statute or to "justice or morality". The procedure in Native courts in Northern Rhodesia regrettably falls far short of this requirement. Prof. Gluckman and Mr. Epstein provide the best material to date in this field and from their records one learns that "evidence" is taken after judgment and that a civil trial may, without any postponement, be converted into a criminal trial against either party or against any witness or turned into an administrative enquiry. A court may try to induce a litigant to refrain from appealing by offering to reduce a fine already imposed. There is also a record of a case where a councillor who came to court after the evidence had been led and who had not heard a word of it gave the final judgment. A judgment too in which both sides are ordered to give the victor's salute would require clarification. As the Lozi recognize the claims of natural law and as they themselves will not enforce customs of their subject-tribes which they consider contrary to natural justice, there should be no objection to the reform of these procedures of theirs which also offend against natural justice and the only question is how it can best be done. It would seem that statutory rules of procedure which the Native Courts Adviser could explain to the members of the courts offers the best solution.

Mr. Epstein pays particular attention to the problem of the conflict of laws which looms large in the urban courts with which he deals and he quite rightly points out that codification of the substantive law which the members of the courts propose as a solution does not solve problems of conflicts. There are two cases of conflict: firstly between the common law and Native law and

secondly between different Native laws. As to the first, one finds that elsewhere two forms of marriage are usually permitted but Mr. Epstein states that "the only form of marriage open to Northern Rhodesian Africans which is recognized in law is the marriage according to Native Law and Custom, which permits of polygamy" and he concludes, on p. 35, that parents-in-law can force a divorce on a professing Christian against his wishes. If this is so immediate reform is called for.

On the conflict between two tribal laws, after citing a case in delict, Mr. Epstein says, at p. 27:

"I believe that part of the answer lies in this, that faced with such a situation the courts are able to go back to first principles which are – such is the claim – generally recognized among the tribes. I suggest tentatively that native courts are able to develop the law to meet such cases, without endangering the underlying certainty of the law, because they are concerned primarily with fundamental general concepts such as Wrong and Injury, terms so flexible in their connotation that they are not merely capable of infinite development but, indeed, contain the possibilities of such development."

This, however, is no solution to the problem he mentions earlier where a man from a patrilineal tribe marries a woman of a matrilineal tribe and on divorce litigates over the children; nor is it a solution to a conflict in succession between two tribal laws one recognizing primogeniture only, the other equal division among all children. Is there a reasonable prospect of finding a generally recognized first principle or a fundamental general concept in such cases? Legislation is, I think, necessary to solve the difficulties involved because the theories of mature systems cannot themselves provide the answer. Both the Foreign Court theory adopted in certain English cases and the partial *renvoi* doctrine favoured in France take the conflict of laws rules of the foreign law into consideration. They are therefore inapplicable where none of the tribes in-

volved have any conflicts rules. The opportunity should now be taken to determine the classification of causes of action for all tribal laws, to state and define for all the connecting factors and to lay down that the foreign law to be applied shall be the foreign domestic law.

The complexity of the questions discussed in all the works mentioned above serves to increase one's respect for the task before any court applying Native law and one hopes that further studies will be made in this field.

RESEARCH INTO THE HISTORY OF BENIN

A combined team of Nigerian and English scholars, headed by a Nigerian, will shortly begin a five-year research project into the history of Benin, once the leading power of Southern Nigeria and one of the oldest and largest of West African kingdoms.

Led by the Nigerian historian Dr. K. Onwuka Dike, the team's historians, archaeologists, anthropologists and other experts will pool their techniques to unravel the mysteries surrounding the remarkable past of the kingdom of Benin. No one is certain of the kingdom's origins and the first European contact, made by the Portuguese in the 15th century, revealed a highly stable society sometimes extending its influence over peoples of widely differing languages and cultures. One of the questions the team hope to answer is how this power spread and was maintained so effectively. Their research will at the same time provide the key to the cultural history of a wide and important part of Southern Nigeria.

Because of European contacts over the past 500 years, archives and museums in the United Kingdom, Portugal, Holland and possibly the Vatican, will be combed for relevant material. Examples of the famous Benin art, many of which symbolically describe events of the kingdom's past, will be shown to the few remaining old men from the locality who still have a clear idea of their significance.

It is highly probable that Benin records or art objects which might provide clues to the research team are in private possession. Their owners can help this valuable work by contacting the Director, Benin Study, Department of History, University College, Ibadan, Nigeria.

The research project is jointly sponsored by

the British Dominions and Colonies Programme of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Government of the Federation of Nigeria and the Colonial Social Science Research Council. It will be run by the Department of History at the University College, Ibadan, Nigeria.

Estimated cost of the research programme is £45,000, nearly half of which will be financed from British grants through the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts. The Carnegie Corporation of New York and the Government of the Federation of Nigeria are subscribing the remainder of the funds.

The Carnegie Corporation's grant is approximately £11,000 and has been made in pursuit of its policy of encouraging higher studies at the new University Colleges in Africa when these are likely to make an original contribution to knowledge.

The Colonial Social Service Research Council is an advisory body to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, composed of leading scholars and of persons with Colonial experience. Its annual report is contained in the blue book, "Colonial Research".

Dr. K. Onwuka Dike, who directs the project, is head of the History Department at University College, Ibadan, and Chairman of the Nigerian Antiquities Commission. After having obtained a Durham B.A., he took his Master's degree at the University of Aberdeen. He is a Ph.D. of the University of London. The Oxford University Press has recently published his book: *Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta 1830 to 1885: An Introduction to the Economic and Political History of Nigeria.*

(Colonial Office Information Department)

OBITUARY : PROFESSOR C. VAN RIET LOWE

We regret to record the death, on 17th June, 1956, of Professor C. van Riet Lowe, the first Director of the Archaeological Survey, and Professor of Archaeology in the University of the Witwatersrand.

Professor van Riet Lowe was born at Aliwal North on 4th November, 1894. He studied engineering at the South African College, Cape Town, and graduated in Civil Engineering in 1919, having interrupted his studies to serve with the South African Artillery and the Royal Horse Artillery in East Africa, Egypt, Palestine, Italy and France. He retained his interest in soldiering, and especially his love for the guns, throughout his life, and it was natural that he should again serve in the second World War when he commanded the 91st (Rand University Training Corps) Battery.

He started his career as an engineer in 1920 when he entered the Department of Public Works, and in eleven years he rose to the responsible position of Chief Engineer of the Department. At the age of thirty-seven he had reached the top of his chosen profession.

But engineering alone could not fully occupy his outstanding abilities. From 1923 to 1928 he had been Assistant Engineer in charge of new bridge construction in the Orange Free State. The banks of the rivers he bridged abounded in prehistoric remains, and he was quick to seize the opportunities presented to him for archaeological research in his spare time. At dawn and dusk he wandered across the veld, discovering over three hundred archaeological sites. Now began the long series of research publications which added so much to our knowledge of South Africa's remote past. He presented a large collection of artefacts to the University of the Witwatersrand. The total destruction of this collection in the disastrous fire in the University library in 1931 was a severe set-back, but it failed to discourage him.

When the Government decided in 1935 to establish the Bureau of Archaeology, which

later became the Archaeological Survey of the Union, van Riet Lowe was appointed its first Director. The University of the Witwatersrand offered to accommodate the new institution and appointed him as Professor of Archaeology. At the same time the Historical Monuments Commission was reorganized with wider statutory powers, and Professor van Riet Lowe was appointed a member and Honorary Secretary of that body. He thus found himself in charge of three new institutions. In spite of his onerous administrative duties he devoted himself with characteristic energy to research in every branch of pre-history, not only in the Union but elsewhere in Africa, and he became a leading figure at international conferences. His advice was eagerly sought and many distinctions were awarded him. The University of Cape Town conferred the degree of D.Sc. on him, and he was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and a Fellow of the Royal Society of South Africa. He was a Past President of the South African Archaeological Society, which he helped to establish, of the South African Museums Association, and of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science, and at the time of his death he was President of the Associated Scientific and Technical Societies. The S. A. Association for the Advancement of Science awarded him its highest distinction, the South African Medal, and in recognition of his work for the preservation of monuments he received the silver medal of the Historical Monuments Commission.

In spite of all his honours and the high positions he held, Professor van Riet Lowe was always ready to help all who approached him, a warm and friendly personality who won the esteem and respect of all who knew him. His death is a sad loss not only in the many fields in which he served his country, but to a wide circle of collaborators and friends.

B. D. MALAN

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

The publications listed below have been received by the Managing Editor during the period 1st March 1956, to 31st May, 1956. This list does not include journals received on exchange.

- BOAS, FRANZ : *Primitive Art*. Dover Publications Inc., New York. 1955.
- DE ROP, A. J. : *Syntaxis van het Lomongo*. Verzameling van het Instituut voor Afrikanistiek, No. 1, Universiteit te Leuven. 1956.
- DIKE, K. ONWUKA : *Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta 1830-85*. Oxford University Press, London and Cape Town. 1956.
- ELLENBERGER, D. F. : *Historiea Basotho, Karolo I*. Morija Sesuto Book Depot. 1956.
- GLUCKMAN, MAX : *Custom and Conflict in Africa*. Basil Blackwell, Oxford. 1955.
- GREENBERG, JOSEPH H. : *Studies in African Linguistic Classification*. The Compass Publishing Company, New Haven. 1955.
- HUGHES, A. J. B. : *Kin, Caste and Nation among the Rhodesian Ndebele*. The Rhodes-Livingstone Papers, No. 25., Lusaka. 1956.
- LAMBERT, H. E. : *Kikuyu Social and Political Institutions*. Oxford University Press, London and Cape Town. 1956.
- LEROTHOLI, GEORGE : *Lithoko tsa Morena e moholo Seeiso Griffith*. Morija Sesuto Book Depot. 1956.
- NYEMBEZI, C. L. S. : *Uhlelo lwesiZulu*. Shuter and Shooter, Pietermaritzburg. 1956.
- WINTER, EDWARD H. : *Bwamba (A Structural-Functional Analysis of a Patrilineal Society)*. W. Heffer and Sons Ltd., Cambridge. 1956.
- *Demographic Yearbook 1955*. Department of Public Information, United Nations. New York. 1955.
- *Non-Self-Governing Territories*. Department of Public Information, United Nations. New York. 1955.

BOOK REVIEWS

An Introduction to Tswana Grammar.

DESMOND T. COLE. Longmans, Green and Co., Cape Town. 1955. xxxv, 473 pp. 35s.

This excellent grammar by Prof. Cole meets the long-felt and urgent need for a systematic study of Tswana. Only two works have been available,¹

¹ Viz. A. J. Wookey and J. Tom Brown : *Secwana Grammar with Exercises* (London Missionary Society, 8th edition, 1949) and Alexander Sandilands : *Introduction to Tswana* (London Missionary Society, Tigerkloof, 1953). Other previous publications, no longer available, are James Archbell : *A Grammar of the Bechuana Language* (1838), David Livingstone : *Analysis of the Language of the Bechuana* (intended for private circulation, 1852),

and both these are marred by an obsolete terminology and an out-dated orthography. Moreover, the material in both is arranged in such a way that they are of little use to the student or reader who wants a comprehensive survey of the language.

Prof. Cole's grammar caters mainly for the advanced student in Tswana or Bantu linguistics.

J. Frédox : *A Sketch of Sechuana Grammar* (1864) and William Crisp : *Notes towards a Secoana Grammar* (1880). Eugène Casalis : *Etudes sur la langue séchuana* (1841) is a description of Southern Sotho, intermingled with Tswana, and written in a Tswana orthography. These and other less extensive publications are discussed by Prof. Cole in the introduction to his grammar.

it being intended "as a formal and analytical textbook, and not as a manual for the use of non-Tswana people wishing to acquire a knowledge of the language . . ." (p. vi). Its clear style ensures, however, that it will not be entirely useless in the hands of the lay reader.

In an excellent introduction, treating of the linguistic position and affinities of Tswana, the standardization of the written language, tribal nomenclature, earlier studies of the subject, and the conjunctive method of word division, the reader is immediately orientated in the climate of the work. The first chapter is devoted to a survey of Tswana phonetics. This is followed by a chapter in which the principles of the grammatical analysis are explained and the terms to be used in subsequent chapters defined. Then follow seventeen chapters treating of the various parts of speech and other phenomena connected with the morphology. The twentieth and last chapter consists of notes on syntax. No clear distinction is made, however, between morphology and syntax. A number of remarks on syntax are included in the chapters on the various parts of speech, which accounts for the shortness of the last chapter.

The study is based on the Central division of the Tswana dialect cluster. This division consists of the Rôlông, Hurutshe and Ngwaketse dialects. The central position of these dialects and the fact that they are the least influenced by surrounding languages make them an almost automatic choice (cf. p. xix-xx). Crisp's grammar is based on Seleka or Free State Rôlông, which is influenced by Southern Sotho. The works of Wookey and Sandilands are based on Tlhaping, a Southern dialect, with possible infusions of other dialects. The *Moruta-puô* (Language-teacher) series of the Hermannsburg mission is written in Transvaal Kwena, which is an Eastern dialect. The peripheral position, geographic as well as linguistic, of these dialects renders the books less readily accessible to speakers of other dialects than Prof. Cole's work. It is to be hoped that his choice will aid in paving the way for an eventual standardization of literary Tswana, something which is

sorely needed by teachers and students of the language.

The orthography used is the official one which is based on the resolutions of a conference held in 1937, subsequently revised and set forth in circular N.E. 37907 of the Transvaal Education Department. One change is made, however, which may seem of minor importance but which, in fact, considerably affects the scientific study of the Sotho languages. This concerns the use of circumflexes on the vowel symbols *ê* and *ô*. Provision is made in the official orthography for seven vowel symbols, viz. *a*, *ê*, *e*, *i*, *ô*, *o* and *u*, with the following additional provision:

"The diacritic sign (ˆ) on the vowels *ê* and *ô*, should be used regularly in scientific works such as grammars and dictionaries. . . . In non-scientific works, however, . . . the diacritic should be used only where there is likely to be confusion with different words, otherwise having identical spelling."

This is based on the view held by the earlier investigators of the Sotho languages that there are seven vowel sounds, each constituting a separate phoneme. They are *a*, *ε*, *e*, *i*, *ɔ*, *o*, and *u*. Under certain conditions *ε* and *ɔ* change to *e* and *o* respectively. Thus we find that the stem *rêka* (buy) becomes *rekile* in the perfect, *bôna* > *bontsha* in the causative, etc. Eventually this view was replaced by the one that there are nine vowel phones, which, written in the orthography of Tucker (*Comparative Phonetics of the Suto-Chuana Group of Bantu Languages*), are *a*, *ε*, *e*, *e*, *i*, *ɔ*, *q*, *o*, and *u*. Yet the principles of the orthography were not changed accordingly. The vowels *q* and *q*, which are variants of *ê* and *ô* respectively, were still treated as if they were *e* and *o* respectively. Prof. Cole was the first to point out that there are actually eleven vowels, viz. *a*, *ε*, *e*, *i*, *ɔ*, *o*, *u*, *ω*, and *u*.¹ Of these, *e*, *i*, *o*, and *ω* are sub-phonemic variants, conditioned by phonological rules, of *ε*, *ɪ*, *ɔ* and *u* respectively. They can, therefore, be grouped into seven phonemes, viz.

this publication the symbols *a*, *ε*, *e*, *e*, *q*, *i*, *ɔ*, *q*, *o*, *q* and *u*, respectively, were used.

¹ D. T. Cole: "The Phonological Relationships of Tswana Vowels", *African Studies*, VIII, 3, 1949. In

a, *ε* (with the variant *e*), *ɪ* (with the variant *ɪ*), *i*, *ɔ* (with the variant *o*), *U* (with the variant *ω*) and *u*. He recommends the use of the symbols *a*, *e*, *i*, *f*, *o*, *u* and *û* for these respectively. This would bring the writing of Sotho vowels in line with that of the other Bantu languages which have five-vowel systems (*a*, *e*, *i*, *o* and *u*). Moreover, these symbols correspond to those used by Meinhof for their phonemic equivalents in Ur-Bantu. The use of diacritics is also cut down to a minimum as the phonemes *f* and *û* appear much less frequently than any of the other vowels. As it is unlikely, however, that such a change will ever be accepted, he proposes that the circumflexes be used also on the variants of *ε* and *ɔ*

in the official orthography. This is the system he uses in his grammar. To give the reader an impression of the principles and considerations involved, I am giving here a list of examples rendered in the various orthographies. The examples are the infinitive and perfect stems for *plough*, *bite*, *end* and *tie*. In the first column they are written phonetically, in the second phonemically, in the third according to the orthography suggested by Prof. Cole, in the fourth according to the orthography of his book, and in the fifth according to the current official orthography. I append also a sixth column, containing the respective Zulu equivalents illustrating a five-vowel system, and a seventh column containing Ur-Bantu equivalents.

-lma	-lma	-lima	-lema	lema ¹	-lima	*-lima
-lmile	-lmile	-limîle	-lemîle	lemile	-limile	*-lim-ile
-luma	-luma	-luma	-loma	loma	-luma	*-luma
-lwmile	-lwmile	-lumîle	-lomîle	lomile	-lumile	*-lum-ile
-Φela	-Φela	-fela	-fêla	fela/fêla	-phela	*-pela
-Φedile	-Φelile	-fedile	-fêdile	fedile	-phelile	*-pel-ile
-bɔΦa	-bɔΦa	-bofa	-bôfa	bofa/bôfa	-bopha	—
-boΦile	-boΦile	-bofile	-bôfile	bofile	-bophile	—

I have dwelt long on this aspect of Prof. Cole's work because I want to impress the reader with the scientific soundness of his orthography. As far as the writing of vowels is concerned, no two

words can be confused with one another because of the fact that they are written alike. Compare the following pairs of examples written in the official orthography and in his orthography:

OFFICIAL	COLE	
lemile	-lemîle	(perfect of -lema, plough)
lemile	-lêmilê	(perfect of -lêma, have a certain shape of horns)
nokeng	nokêng	(locative of noka, river)
nokeng	nôkêng	(locative of nôka, hip)
pholong	pholóng	(locative of pholô, crop)
pholong	phólóng	(locative of phólô, health)
pholong	pholong	(locative of pholo, ox)

The soundness of this change cannot be too highly praised. It can be regarded as one of the greatest single contributions made to Sotho linguistics in recent years. It is indeed a tribute to Prof. Cole

that his orthography (in the modified form) has been applied by other writers even before he has had the chance to apply it extensively in a publication himself.² It would be to the advantage of the

¹ In the current orthography these stems are treated as words. They are, therefore written without hyphens.

² Prof. Ziervogel used it in the second edition of his *Noord-Sotho-Leerboek* (Pretoria, 1953), and adopted it in principle in *The Eastern Sotho* (Pretoria, 1954). Prof.

Doke gave due recognition to it in *The Southern Bantu Languages* (Int. Afr. Inst., 1954), and the present reviewer followed it in principle in "Die Kopulatie van Noord-Sotho" *Kongo-Overzee*, XXI, 1, 1955).

orthographies of the Sotho languages if these changes were adopted by all writers of and on these languages.

The system of grammatical analysis employed is that which was evolved by Prof. Doke. This system, which pivots round the conjunctive method of word division, is sometimes termed *conjunctivism*. This method is the opposite of *disjunctivism* which is the basis of the recognized orthographies of the Sotho languages. In the official disjunctive orthography words are divided according to unscientific principles which are, in fact, nothing but the structural bias of the better known European languages. It is, moreover, inconsistent even in the application of its own principles. Subjectival concords are, for instance, written as separate words, e.g. *ke ka tla* (I may come), yet in some cases they are joined to the "words" following them, e.g. *nka tla* (I may come). The writer discusses the defects of disjunctivism in his introduction, and concludes that conjunctivism is the correct method for Bantu languages (p. xxix-xxxv).

The conjunctivism employed by Prof. Cole is based on definite linguistic criteria, and of these the function of length on the penultimate syllable as word boundary-marker is the most prominent. (Prof. Doke calls it stress.) Equally important are certain grammatical criteria which, however, are not defined or even clearly discussed either

by Prof. Cole, or, to my knowledge, by any previous writer adopting the same system. His treatment suggests that they are, firstly, the fact that all words must be susceptible of independent use, and, secondly, that all formatives or formative-complexes which cannot be used independently are affixes of other words. The practical effect is that much longer words are written than in a disjunctive system. Conjunctivism is to-day the dominant approach in the study of South African Bantu languages. (I feel, however, that it is not entirely correct to call it "*the* modern approach to Bantu grammatical analysis", as if it were the only modern and scientific approach.) It serves as the model for the orthographies of Zulu, Shona, and, to a lesser extent, of Xhosa.

In his method of word division Prof. Cole is uncompromisingly conjunctivist. I feel that he could have effected an orthographical compromise between conjunctivism and the current Tswana method of word division by adopting a system of hyphens to show where words are ordinarily broken up in Tswana, as Prof. Ziervogel has done in his work on the Eastern Sotho. In doing this he would have made his work much more accessible to the lay reader of Tswana and the other Sotho languages, without, however, sacrificing his conjunctivist principles. The following examples will serve to illustrate my point:

COLE:	HYPHENATED	CURRENT SYSTEM	
<i>banê basadire</i>	<i>ba-nê ba-sa-dire</i>	<i>ba ne ba sa dire</i>	(they were not doing)
<i>mógoyónê</i>	<i>mô-go-yónê</i>	<i>mo go yónê</i>	(in it, abs. pron. cl. 5 sing.)
<i>tsêkesadirateng</i>	<i>tsê-ke-sa-di-rateng</i>	<i>tse ke sa di rateng</i>	(those which I do not like)

The spirit of this type of conjunctivism – there are other conjunctivist systems accompanied by completely different terminology – is best illustrated by the scheme of parts of speech. In the first place words are classified "according to their function in the sentence, and their grammatical relationship to one another" (p. 59). Six major parts of speech are recognized, viz. substantives, qualificatives, predicatives, descriptives, conjunctives and interjectives. (The substantive is, however, defined semantically, i.e. as a word which

signifies anything concrete or abstract (p. 60), and not syntactically as one would expect from the criterion mentioned.) The major parts of speech can again be sub-divided "with reference to the form of the words" into thirteen ultimate parts of speech. This gives us the following scheme:

A. Substantive	(a) Noun	1
	(b) Pronoun	2
B. Qualificative	(a) Adjective	3
	(b) Enumerative	4

	(c) Quantitative	5
	(regarded as pronoun by Doke)	
	(d) Possessive	6
	(e) Relative	7
C. Predicative	(a) Verb	8
	(b) Copulative	9
D. Descriptive	(a) Adverb	10
	(b) Ideophone	11
E. Conjunctive		12
F. Interjective		13

The classification of parts of speech according to their syntactical function may present a writer with a number of difficulties. In the first place it may tempt him to be biased by the structure of his own language. What proof is there, for instance, that a word like *bagagwê* is a non-pronominal qualificative in an example like *bana bagagwê* (his children), and not a pronoun used appositionally like the demonstrative *ba* in *bana ba* (these children), or the absolute pronoun *bônê* in *bana bônê* (as for the children)? In the second place it necessitates a needless repetition of material. A word like *babagolo* (big (ones)) has to be treated as a pronoun and again as a qualificative. Words like *gôtlhê* (everywhere) have to appear in the sections on the pronoun, the qualificative and the adverb. Other words, like *fatshe* ((on the) ground) and *bosigo* ((at) night), are in one case regarded as nouns, in another as adverbs and in still another as the stems of derived words. In the chapter on the conjunctive one finds a number of words which are elsewhere regarded as nouns (e.g. *gore*, that), adverbs (e.g. *kôotêng*, probably), verbal relatives (e.g. *eseng*, not), etc.

This particular type of conjunctivism, is apt to ensnare a writer in a tangle of conflicting usages of terms. These problems are not always successfully solved in this book. One of the most difficult concerns the association of qualificatives with certain derived words. It is held that formatives like the possessive concord, *ke-*, *gase-*, *ka-*, *le-*, *jaaka-* and *go-* are used to derive non-substantial words from substantives. *Ke-* and *gase-* are used

in the derivation of copulatives which are regarded as predicatives, e.g. *kemotho* (it is a person) and *gasemotho* (it is not a person) (chapter 14); the possessive concord is used to derive possessive qualificatives, e.g. *mosadi wamotho* (the wife of a person) (chapter 9); the other formatives are adverbial, e.g. *kamotho* (by means of a person), *lemotho* (with a person), *jaakamotho* (like a person) and *gomotho* (at a person). The implication is that *-motho* is in all these cases the stem of the respective derived words and no longer a noun or an independent word. (Cf. the writer's discussion of the term *stem* on p. 66.) The difficulty about this view arises when it is taken into account that these derived words can be qualified by qualificatives as if they were substantives, e.g. *kemotho yômogolo* (it is a big person), *gasemotho yômogolo* (it is not a big person) *kamotho yômogolo* (by means of a big person), etc. It cannot be said that the derived words as such are qualified in these cases as this would not be consistent with the definition of the adjective (cf. p. 62). Neither can it be said that *-motho* is qualified, as this would mean that it is still an independent word. A third possibility is to say that the whole phrase *motho yômogolo* is derived in all these cases, i.e. *ke(motho yômogolo)*, *gase(motho yômogolo)*, *ka(motho yômogolo)*, etc. This is the answer given by Prof. Cole. On p. 43¹ he states the following: "Strictly speaking, it is the whole phrase, consisting of substantive and qualificative(s), which is inflected, though only the first word, the substantive, undergoes morphological change." But this is still a contradiction in terms, because, in spite of the fact that only the first word is regarded as derived, the statement implies that the whole phrase is the stem whereas the stem is explicitly said to be part of one word only (p. 66). I may refer here to the solution offered by Dr. Meeussen who regards these formatives as types of proclitic prefixes of the noun called *indices*.¹ Such a view allows us to regard the noun as still an independent word in such cases.²

Another question arising from the conjunctivism

¹ Cf. A. E. Meeussen: *Linguistische Schets van het Bangubangu* (Annalen van het koninklijk museum van Belgisch-Kongo, Tervuren, Deel 5, 1954).

² In the case of *gase-* the writer seems to have over-

looked the fact that it can be used independently, e.g. *a gase?* (isn't it?), Afrikaans: *is dit nie?*, French: *n'est-ce pas?*

approach concerns those cases where the aforementioned formatives are used to form poli-nuclear exocentric word groups (or phrases), e.g. *kemonna lemosadi* (it is a man and a woman), *kamonna lemosadi* (by means of a man and a woman), etc. The writer unfortunately does not touch upon these constructions. His treatment in general suggests that he would regard such constructions as consisting of two words derived from two different stems, i.e. *ke(monna) le(mosadi)* or *ka(monna) le(mosadi)*. Syntactically, however, *monna le mosadi* is taken as a whole, which means that the "derivation" is actually *ke(monna lemosadi)* or *ka(monna lemosadi)*. The position is even more clear in the case of dissosiative word groups of this kind, e. g. *ke(monna gongwê mosadi)* (it is a man or a woman) or *ka(monna gongwê mosadi)* (by means of a man or a woman). These examples show that *ke-* and *ka-* are used to "inflect" more than one stem at the same time. This is again not provided for in the definition of the term *stem*.

Quite a number of ideas expressed in this work may strike the reader as novel. The writer's classification of the Sotho dialects is somewhat different from (and definitely better than) the one generally adopted. Doke, who is usually followed in this respect,¹ recognizes four clusters, viz. Southern Sotho, Northern Sotho, Tswana and Kololo. Guthrie recognizes only the first three, as belonging to the Sotho group,² whereas van Bulck adds a fifth, viz. Eastern Kgatla.³ Prof. Cole's classification recognizes six dialect clusters, viz. Southern Sotho, Northern Sotho, Tswana, Kololo, Kgalagadi and a heterogeneous group consisting of Lobedu, Phalaborwa, Pai, Kutswe, Pulana, etc. Kgalagadi was mostly regarded as a sub-cluster of Tswana, whereas the group comprising Lobedu, etc., was always regarded as consisting of Northern Sotho dialects.⁴

A new note is also struck in his discussion of the etymology of the word Tswana. Earlier writers have advanced various unsatisfactory theories, e. g. that it is the reciprocal form of *-tšwa* (come

or go out), that it is derived from *-tšwana* (resemble), that it is the diminutive form of the adjectival stem *-ntšho* (black), etc. Prof. Cole points out the fact that the words indicating the Tswana people, language, customs, etc., sometimes, especially in older forms, tend to have a closer vowel in the prefix than other words of the same respective classes, e.g. *Mutšwana* (a Tswana person), *Bêšwana* (the Tswana people), *Sitšwana* (the Tswana language and customs), *Butšwana* (Tswana country), etc. The narrowing of these vowels can be explained as the result of coalescence of the prefix vowel and an *i*, i.e. *mu* < *mo* + *i*, *bê* < *ba* + *i*, *si* < *se* + *i* and *bu* < *bo* + *i*. From this fact it can be concluded that the original stem of the word was *-itšwana*, of which we know only the shortened modern form *-tšwana*. Prof. Cole is, however, unable to explain the meaning of this stem.

A welcome addition is made to our morphemic inventory for Bantu languages by the recognition of the class of *stabilizers*. Stabilizers are "prefixal or suffixal elements which have no intrinsic significance or concordial function, their sole purpose being to provide an additional syllable for words which, generally speaking, would otherwise be monosyllabic, and thus to accommodate the characteristic penultimate accent". In this category he classes, *inter alia*, the prefixal *e-* of imperatives for med from monosyllabic verb stems, e. g. *eja!* (from *-ja*, eat). (This formative has a homorganic nasal as alternative, e.g. *nja!*). Other stabilizers are the suffixal element *-na* or *-nê* in absolute pronouns, e. g. *bôna/bônê*, the suffixal element in the imperative forms of monosyllabic verb stems, e. g. *jaa!* (from *-ja*, eat), etc. The class of stabilizers is also the home of those devaluated noun prefixes and adjective concordial elements which are usually found in derived stems, e.g. *-ntlê* (originally *-tlê*, now containing the nasal of class 5, singular) and *-lešwêfala*, derived from *lešwê* (filth) (cf. *sêdifala*, become light, derived from *lesêdi*, light).

The classification of the moods of the verb is

¹ Cf. e.g. C. M. Doke : *Bantu : Modern Grammatical, Phonetical and Lexicographical Studies since 1860* (Int. Afr. Inst., 1945).

² Malcolm Guthrie : *The Classification of the Bantu Languages* (Int. Afr. Inst., 1948).

³ G. van Bulck : *Manuel de linguistique bantoue* (Brussels, 1949).

⁴ Dr. Van Warmelo divides this group into two groups. Cf. *Preliminary Survey of the Bantu Tribes of the Union of South Africa* (Govt. Printer, Pretoria).

also novel in that the participial is no longer regarded as a separate mood, but as a sub-mood of the indicative and conditional. The moods are classified into non-finite and finite. The former category contains those moods which never take subjectival concords, viz. the infinitive and imperative. Finite moods, which must always contain subjectival concords, are sub-divided into primary and secondary moods. The indicative and conditional moods are regarded as primary, whereas the subjunctive is the only secondary mood. Each of the primary moods has two forms, viz. a principal and a participial form.

The reason why the participial is regarded as a sub-form of the indicative and conditional moods, seems to be the fact that its notional significance does not in any way differ from those of the indicative and conditional. It is distinguished from the principal forms in that it is always used subordinately whereas the primary forms always appear in main clauses. Both the principal and participial forms of the indicative mood indicate, for example, "the occurrence of an action at some time in the past, present or future" (p. 242). This view is not strictly in accordance with most definitions of the term *mood*, as the mere fact that a verb form can be used in subordinate clauses only is generally accepted as sufficient reason to regard it as a non-indicative mood.¹

On the other hand, however, this classification is an attempt to solve the problem of the position of the conditional (or potential) in the scheme of moods. The conditional is generally regarded as a non-indicative and non-participial mood. Consequently most writers find it difficult to explain the fact that there are participial conditional forms. Although Prof. Cole's scheme is more satisfactory than those of most other writers on South African Bantu languages, it is by no means the ideal one. On page 238, for example, he mentions the fact that the infinitive has a potential form, which implies that the conditional mood is not necessarily

finite as the classification of moods suggests, except, perhaps, if this case is regarded as a modal "overlap".

The subjunctive mood is also treated in a novel way. It is divided into three tenses, viz. the present (characterized by the final vowel *-ê* of the verb), the habitual (characterized by the final vowel *-e*) and the past (characterized by the morpheme *-a-* attached to the subjectival concord). The habitual tense is usually regarded as a special mood of the verb or as a tense of the indicative mood. The past tense form is again regarded in most circles as a remote or historical past tense of the indicative mood. This view is based on the false assumption that this verb form is functionally similar to the morphologically similar remote past tense of the Nguni languages. I cannot wholly agree, however, that this latter form is a *past* tense of the subjunctive mood either. It may be used, for example in a sequence of actions following a conditional action in which there is no suggestion of a past tense notion, e.g. *Fa akadumêla, nkamootla, kamojesa, kamoapêsa, kamofadimadi leborôbalô* (If he agreed, I would care for him and feed him and clothe him and give him money and quarters) (p. 447).²

Much of the information for the first time finds its way into a grammar of a Sotho language. We may mention, for example, the existence of a negative perfect infinitive, e.g. *gosârêka* (not to have bought) (p. 238), the use of the possessive concord in indirect relative constructions in the Ngwato dialect, e.g. *dikgômo tsamalôba kedirêka* (the cattle which I bought the other day) (p. 169), the use of as many as three objectival concords in one verb, e.g. *ketlalobamokwalêla* (I shall write it to him, to them for him) (p. 432), the use of the reflexive prefix with one or more objectival concords, e.g. *godiiintshwarêla* (to forgive me them) (p. 432), etc.

There are some of the new ideas on which I cannot agree with the writer. Chief amongst these is

¹ Cf. e.g. Jespersen: *Philosophy of Grammar* (London, 1951): "... in some cases the choice of a mood is determined not by the attitude of the actual speaker, but by the character of the clause itself and its relation to the main nexus on which it is dependent" (p. 313).

² In Northern Sotho the "past subjunctive" is re-

gularly used in a sequence of actions in the present and the future, e.g. *Re tsoga e sa le bofego, ra hlapa, ra apara ra ya modirong* (We arise when it is still early in the morning, and then we wash and dress and go to work); *Dipudi di tlo tsêna mašemong tša re jêla mabêlê* (The goats will enter the lands and eat our corn).

his view that the demonstrative element in adjectives and relatives is part of the concord, i.e. e.g. *monna yómogolo* (the big man) and *monna yóoşulêng* (the dead man). The reason is that the demonstrative has lost its demonstrative force in these cases and can, therefore, no longer be used independently (p. 138 and p. 172). Comparison with some other Bantu languages suggests however, that the demonstrative often has an inherent relative-pronominal function.¹ The following examples from Northern Sotho show clearly that the demonstrative can be used as demonstrative and as relative pronoun at the same time: *batho bao ba bônago* (those people who are seeing) and *mono ba dulago góna* (just here where they are staying). In Tswana these two functions have been differentiated so that two demonstratives have to be used in equivalents of the above-mentioned Northern Sotho examples, i.e. *batho bao baba-bônang*, etc. This fact, however, does not seem to me sufficient reason to conclude that the demonstrative is in such cases a new secondary formative in a composite concord and no longer an independent word. The fact that these demonstrative elements can no longer function independently does not prove that they are not words, for, if this criterion were used consistently, all conjunctives and quite a number of verbs (e.g. copulative and deficient verbs) would have to be regarded as secondary formatives as well. Moreover, these demonstrative elements can be separated from the rest of the words to which they are affixed by the insertion of another independent word, e.g. *monna yóbamonyatsang* (the man whom they despise) may also be found as *monna yó batho bamonyatsang* (the man whom the people despise). It is generally regarded as sufficient reason to recognize a linguistic form as a separate word if that linguistic form can be separated from another by the insertion of an independent form.² Prof. Cole writes the demonstrative as part of the first word in such phrases, e.g. *monna yóbatho bamonyatsang*, implying that it inflects a whole phrase. Moreover, it

seems inconsistent to regard the demonstrative as part of a composite concord in direct relatives, e.g. *yóo (şulêng)* (he who is dead), but as the sole concord in indirect relatives, e.g. *yó (bamonyatsang)* (he whom they hate). Why not regard it as sole concord in both cases, i.e. *yó (oşulêng)* and *yó (bamonyatsang)*, or even as part of a composite concord in both cases, i.e. *yóo(şulêng)* and *yóba(monyatsang)*?

For similar reasons I cannot accept his view that the locative demonstratives *fa*, *kwa* and *mó* are secondary formatives (p. 341) in constructions like *fanokêng/kwanokêng/mónokêng* (at/in the river). In the same vein are my objections against his prefixation of the hortative morpheme *a* to subjects, e.g. *Abana batshamekê!* (Let the children play!). Apart from the fact that I cannot find the place of the (derived?) word *abana* in the general scheme of parts of speech, I can see no reason why it should be treated differently from the interrogative morpheme *a*, e.g. *A bana batshameka?* (Do the children play?) (cf. p. 458). Why not regard the interrogative morpheme as a prefix like the hortative morpheme, e.g. *Abana baatshameka?* or the hortative morpheme as a conjunctive like the interrogative morpheme, e.g. *A bana batshamekê!?*

There are other less important points on which I differ from the writer. In my view it would have been better to treat the impersonal copulatives containing the concord *go-*, and usually translated with *there is/are* ..., e.g. *gobatho* (there are people), as descriptive rather than as identificative (p. 312 *et seq.*). Nor can I agree with his view that the locative suffix is *-ing* (p. 342), in spite of the reasons offered in his aforementioned article on the vowels of Tswana.

On the whole, however, Prof. Cole has succeeded in setting in this work a standard so high that this review cannot do full justice to it. He seems to have made a special study of every single detail he mentions. Proof of this can be found, for example, in the almost loving care bestowed on the explanation of the meaning and use of every word or

¹ E.g. Northern Sotho, Tsonga and even Swazi. Cf. Prof. Lestrade's remarks on the so-called "relative pronouns" of Venda in a review of Döke's *Southern Bantu Languages* (*African Studies*, 14, 2, 1955). Cf. also Meinhof: *Grundzüge einer vergleichenden Grammatik der*

Bantu-sprachen (Hamburg, 1948), p. 81.
² Cf. e.g. Bloomfield: *Language* (London, 1950), p. 180. For the Bantu languages cf. Guthrie: *Bantu Word Division* (Int. Afr. Inst., 1948), p. 10.

construction. The reader always has the impression that every aspect of the grammar is treated exhaustively and that nothing more can be said about it. See, for example, his treatment of the phonological processes (p. 39-51),¹ the palatalization occurring in the initial consonants of nouns of class 3 singular (p. 83-84), the derivation of nouns (chapter 4) and verbs (p. 191-223), and his treatment of the qualificatives (chapters 6-10), to mention only a few cases. His frequent references to other Bantu languages, Bantu philology and Ur-Bantu give a breadth and scope to his work which cannot be realized in a strictly descriptive approach. His intimate knowledge of the language is evident in the singularly good translations of the examples given.

These qualities of his work make its publication an event of major interest in South African Bantu linguistics, and a valuable contribution to Bantu linguistics in general. It is in every respect the equal of, and in some cases even superior to, the other three monographs of South African Bantu languages, viz. Doke's *Text Book of Zulu Grammar*, Van Eeden's *Inleiding tot die Studie van Suid-Sotho* and Ziervogel's *Grammar of Swazi*. Its scientific precision will undoubtedly make it the model for future publications on Sotho and other Bantu languages, but it will be extremely difficult to equal the standard set by Prof. Cole in this excellent work.

E. B. VAN WYK

Hekserij bij de Baluba van Kasai. E. P. R. van Caeneghem. Koloniale Belgise Akademie, Brussel. 1955. 280 bl. 275 B.F.

Hoe primitieven hekserij verstaan wordt hier uitgelegd op een gans nieuwe wijze. Zij hangt samen met de gezegden en teksten die schrijver in 25 jaar missiearbeid opgetekend heeft bij Baluba, in Belgisch-Kongo. Deze uitleg strookt ook met wat schrijver reeds publiceerde over het „Godsbegrip bij Baluba” en met de bevindingen

van E. P. Tempels, in zijn vermaarde *Bantoe-filosofie*.

De Baluba teksten en spreekwoorden die schrijver hier over hekserij publiceert en vertaalt zijn prijzenswaard voor Afrikaanse linguïsten.

Afrikanen en Afrikaanders moeten dit boek lezen; zij zullen nu vooreerst de Neger en zijn geest op een logische manier gaan verstaan.

Het boek van E. P. van Caeneghem is een bewijs te meer van wat E. P. Tempels schreef in zijn *Bantoe-filosofie*, die ook steunt op Baluba-onderverinding.

Blijven er over hekserij bij Baluba nog dingen die hier niet te boek gebracht worden, men moet het zich afvragen want alle onderdelen en benamingen van het beheksen komen hier te berde.

Weinige volkenkundige boeken zijn zo leeswaard als deze van E. P. van Caeneghem. Geen Afrikaans ethnoloog mag deze werken voorbijzien. De inheemse lezer zal er zichzelf beter leren uit verstaan.

Het boek bedraagt drie delen: De uitleg van al de gepleegde daden nopens hekserij bij Baluba, met naam en toepassingen; dan Baluba-teksten en eindelijk Baluba spreekwoorden, over hekserij met zijn vertalingen in 't Nederlands.

E. POSSOZ.

Mosali eo u 'neileng eena. N. M. KHAKETLA. Morija Sesuto Book Depot. 1954. 90 pp.

In this Southern Sotho play, the title of which may be translated as "The wife you gave me", the heroine, Tseleng, is an orphan and lives with her uncle. She is, however, ill-treated by her uncle's wife and is given away in marriage, out of malice, to a dumb herdboycalled Sootho. This Sootho is actually an ex-serviceman suffering from amnesia, like the hero in James Hilton's *Random Harvest*. Sootho has also lost his speech in addition - all this as a result of injuries and shock received in the war. Before the war he was a minister of religion. He regains his memory

the first writer to regard the reflexive prefix as *i(N)*- and not merely as *i-*. Cf. p. 232.

¹ I entirely agree with his view that the process of strengthening occurring in reflexive verb stems is due to a latent nasal and not merely the vowel *i*. He is

and speech after a severe illness. He then leaves Basutoland and returns to his home in the Transvaal where he settles down as a minister and is happy with his wife, presumably to the chagrin of her aunt.

This sounds interesting, but unfortunately for a play the story is not acted, it is presented to the audience as hearsay. Throughout the book the reader – or audience – learns of the leading characters from the conversation between Thato (Tseleng's friend) and her mother. The real characters of the drama are never seen in action. It is the relationship between Thato and her mother that dominates the scene; they entertain. The heroine, Tseleng, goes through a crisis in this story but the audience is denied the opportunity and pleasure of seeing her character unfold before their eyes.

Notwithstanding this, the language is exceptionally good idiomatic Sotho; the dialogue living and humorous. The author has not been afraid to use foreign words that have become part of Southern Sotho. As her first published work, this book is encouraging, and it is to be hoped that it will not only spur her on to further attempts but will also encourage other Sotho women to turn their thoughts to writing.

S. M. M.

Lipapali le Lithothokiso tsa Basotho. ALF. K. TSIU. Morija Sesuto Book Depot. 1954. 38 pp. 1s. 6d.

Histori ea Basotho, Karolo I. D. F. ELLENBERGER. Morija Sesuto Book Depot. 4th ed., 1956. 116 pp. 5s. 6d.

Lithoko tsa Morena e moholo Seeiso Griffith. GEORGE LEROTHOLI. Morija Sesuto Book Depot. 2nd ed., revised, 1956. 30 pp. 1s. 9d.

The booklet *Lipapali le Lithothokiso tsa Basotho* contains a collection of thirteen children's games found among the Southern Sotho people. This is not a complete collection of all the games played by Sotho children. There are in fact many other games for children that have not been included and which were certainly not omitted

for lack of space. The thirteen games have been presented in an attractive manner. The reader can almost see the groups of children in each case, but it must be a reader who knows the games and who probably took part in them himself as a child, for it is doubtful whether anyone can learn the games solely from the accounts given here. But to one who had a knowledge of the games as a child, they are a pleasant recollection of childhood and will prove valuable if he should want to pass on that tradition to his children in the changed conditions of to-day.

The second part of this booklet, which teaches the children the praises of their various clans, is also welcome. It is the first of its kind and many a young man who used to stand embarrassed while some old man recited the praises of the young man's clan, will probably be saved all that. At least he will be able to recite his clan's *lithoko* even if he does not have the faintest idea of the significance of some of the names and allusions, as is often the case with all the praises.

A glance at that highly informative book, D. F. Ellenberger's *Histori ea Basotho*, a fourth edition of which we welcome here, makes it clear that it is not yet too late to annotate these clan-praises. Ellenberger's book has a lot of valuable information, which given as notes to these praises, would go a long way towards making them more meaningful and, therefore, more enjoyable.

This is a problem that applies to all praise-poems and it is an urgent one. With each generation that passes, our sources of such information gradually dry up. Without this information most of the praise-poems lose a great deal of their meaning and beauty. An attempt should be made to annotate all that have been published, however, difficult the task may be.

There is of course no such difficulty with a work like George Lerotholi's admirable collection of praises, *Lithoko tsa Morena e moholo Seeiso Griffith*, which has just appeared in a revised second edition, for Seeiso Griffith died only some fifteen years ago. Twelve years ago, the late Mr. G. L. Letele wrote of this book: "It is imperative that the writer of Seeiso's

Lithoko - or some competent person - should annotate these praises before the allusions in them are completely forgotten . . . " ¹ It would appear that those words fell on deaf ears. They still apply to this edition and one hopes to see something done about this, not only in the third edition of this book, but also in all future publications of praise-poems.

S. M. M.

Primitive Art. FRANZ BOAS. Dover Publications, Inc., New York, 1955. \$1.95.

This is a reprinting, without any new introduction, of a book that has been a standard reference since its first appearance in 1927. Modern techniques in the reading and appreciation of the art of primitive peoples have superseded this work in some branches, but the name of its author is a much-quoted one in current bibliographies, especially where these refer to the primitive arts of America.

The emphasis here is very much on the arts of design and the domestic crafts, in which pattern-making is discussed in both its formal and symbolic contexts. These aspects are illustrated chiefly by reference to the American arts, and we miss the more familiar African examples, to which the reference seems relatively slight. The term "Primitive" does not seem to be properly defined, and it is questionable whether the paintings of Palaeolithic man, the dynastic

Egyptian, and the Mexican Indian should really be discussed as comparable examples. The writer is clearly more interested in the recurrence of similar stylistic or symbolic phenomena than in the historical value of these similarities.

The new printing contains a Table of Contents, and an Index of Names (though no general index), which were not present in the original publication. This, with the rather unscientific presentation of content, made the older edition irritating and difficult to use. The new edition is therefore more useful, though it is doubtful whether considerations of economy in what can only be considered a reference handbook justify a paper cover and a rather precarious looking binding.

The book appears to be printed by the "Reprolika" process, and is a page for page facsimile of the first edition. Text and drawings do not lose much by this, though most of the photographs are less legible than before. The back cover describes the new edition as a valuable reference for the "working artist and designer" because of its many illustrations, and perhaps it is no longer intended particularly for the art-historian and anthropologist. As they are still to be considered however, even at popular prices, a somewhat more scholarly introduction would not have come amiss, in which we might have been reassured that this was still fundamentally an informative and analytical work.

HEATHER MARTIENSSEN

¹ *African Studies*; 3, 4, 1944, p. 162.